THACKER'S

HAND-BOOKS OF HINDOSTAN.

DEHLI.

By the same Author.

A HAND-BOOK FOR VISITORS TO AGRA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD. WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

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HAND-BOOK FOR VISITORS

TO

DEHLI

AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY

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"HAND-BOOK FOR VISITORS TO AGRA;" &C.

SECOND EDITION.

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THE following pages, though based upon a previous brochure upon the same subject, have been, to a great extent, re-written, and contain numerous additions and alterations constituting in effect a new work. The writer gladly avails himself of the opportunity to thank those critics who have assisted him to correct errors, and invites further criticism and information, which may be addressed to him, care of the publishers.

The station of Dehli is reached by a short siding of the East India Railway from the terminus at Ghazeeabad Junction, which, crossing the Jumna by a fine girder-bridge, and passing through the old Fort of *Suleemgurh* and a corner of Shahjuhan's "Red Castle," or *Lal Killa*, lands the traveller in the neighbourhood of the *Queen's Gardens*. He will find several Hotels advertised, the best of which is believed to be the *United Service*, but the *personnel*, and therefore the administration, of Indian Hotels is always changing. There is also a governmental *Dak Bungalow*, which is well kept and centrally situated.

At the United Service Hotel will probably be found an intelligent guide; the person now attached to the Hotel in that capacity is Baboo Budree Das, who speaks English well, and has a good topographical knowledge of the neighbourhood. He is indefatigable and obliging; and will introduce the traveller to the best jewellers, shawl-merchants, and painters.

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GUIDE TO DELHI.

INTRODUCTION.

DEHLI, the Rome of Asia, consists of ruins spreading over a length of ten miles by a breadth averaging little less than six. In this area are comprised the traditional "seven castles and fifty-two gates" spoken of as far back as 1611 by the Mariner Finch. It also includes the new city of Shahjuhan, which was not built in Finch's time. In order to form any idea of the contents of so thickly covered a space as this is, some method must be adopted; and perhaps Captain Harcourt's Diary* will be found most useful for the purpose by those who have but a short time to devote to the purpose. Those whose leisure is more ample may still avail themselves of the Diary, by pursuing the same order of work, but doing less each day. For those whose time is limited, the Diary given by Captain Harcourt will be found most useful.

"1*st day*.—The Jumma Musjid.

"The Fort, including the Dewan A'am, the Dewan Khass, the King's Bath and Pearl Mosque (Note.—Drive to the Dewan Khass, the guide there will show all that is to be seen—a trifle may be given to him, say 4 annas); the Kalan Musjid near the Turcoman Gate of the city, but this is only interesting to antiquarians.

"2*nd day*.—Drive out by the Dehli Gate of the city, and *en passant* look at Feroz Shah's Lat, or Stone Pillar, and the views cf the city of Ferozabad, just outside the gate to the left of the road; go on to Homayoon's Tomb, and while there visit Nizamoodeen's Tomb (a fee of 4 annas for each person is generally given), the Chousut Kumba, and the other ruined Mosques, &c., adjacent. On way back leave the carriage outside the Fort of

* New Guide to Delhi. Meerut, 1870.

Purana Keela, and walk (about half a mile) to Sher Shah's Mosque, which is well worth seeing.

"*3rd day.*—Drive towards the Kootub, passing the ruins of the Junter Munter, or Observatory, on the left, and Sufter Jung's Mausoleum on the right, both well worth seeing. The various tombs and galleries at the Kootub will employ the rest of the day. In the evening, walk round the top of the wall of Lalkot Fort to the left of the Minar; ladies could hardly manage this, as the pathway is composed, on the west and most interesting and best preserved side, of large loose stones. Sleep at the Kootub Dâk Bungalow.

"*4th day.*—Go to Mausoleum of Sooltan Gari; the chuprassie of the Bungalow can give every information. In the evening drive to Toogluckabad, three miles from Kootub, visit the ruined city and the tomb of Toogluck Shah, return to Kootub, and next morning come back to Dehli."

A few words will suffice as to the early history of the neighbourhood. Dehli — understanding by the term the parallelogram above referred to—is more interesting than Agra, if less beautiful. The very monarch who last chose it as a capital dowered the forsaken rival with a treasure which, as it is unique in the world, is quite unapproached by anything at Dehli. But if the latter has no Taj, it offers to the visitor interested in ethnology, in history, and in architecture a series of records that may almost be compared to the stratified annals of geology.* With harder work and less enjoyment than in Agra, the visitor here finds his mind interested, and his knowledge of men and their works sensibly increased. Lying on the bank of the Jumna, and in a basin receiving the drainage of the Mewat Hills, the neighbourhood is well-watered, and sheltered from storms. Its commercial advantages are about on a par with those of Agra; but it is better situated in some other respects—nearer to the hills for purposes of pleasure, nearer to the frontier for purposes of

* The reader is referred to the Architectural Notes in the Appendix to the 1st part of this series (Agra).

defence, and enjoying a somewhat milder climate. Nevertheless after the death of Homayoon in A.D. 1556, which resulted from an accident at the *Sher Mundul* in the fortified city of his late rival, now known as *Poorana Killa*,* Dehli had ceased to attract any share of imperial favour for nearly 80 years. During the long reign of Ukbur, and during that of his son, Agra and Lahore† formed the chief seats of Government; but in 1635 A.D., just before setting out on his second Deccan expedition, Shahjuhan ordered the construction of a totally new city to the north of that inhabited by his great grandfather. It is possible that Agra had become distasteful to the Emperor since it had become the burial-place of the wife of his youth—the lady of the Taj, or that mere caprice and the desire to spend money largely in the gratification of a favourite taste may have actuated him, or both. The following is Bernier's account, who saw the new works in their first freshness, having landed in India in 1655.

"It is now about forty years," Bernier was writing after he had been nearly nine years in the country, "that Shah Jahan, father of the Grand-Mogul *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, to eternize his memory, caused to be built a town contiguous to old *Dehli*, which he called after his Name *Shah-Jahan-Abad*, and by way of abbreviation *Jehan-Abad*, that is to say, a colony of *Chah-Jehan*, designing to make it the capital of the Empire, instead of *Agra*, where he said that the summer heats were too violent. This nearness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old *Dehli* have served to build a new city; and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of *Dehli*, but only *Jehan-Abad*. Yet, notwithstanding since the City of *Jehan-Abad* is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of *Dehli*, which is familiar to us."

The works were probably supervised by Ali-Murdan Khan, the Persian adventurer who joined Shahjuhan's service in 1637. He made the canal which still supplies the neighbourhood with water, and was probably the introducer of the bulbous dome

* *Vide infra*, p. 26.

† So thought Milton "Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul."

which forms so marked a note in the decadence of Saracenic architecture in India. The Taj,—which is the earliest specimen of this fault with which I am acquainted,—was designed two years after the arrival of Ali Murdan in India: the Jama′ Musjid of Agra, built a year or two earlier, has a dome, which, without being by any means flat, is yet bold and natural.

THE FORT AND PALACE OF THE MOGULS.

This fortress of New Delhi was built at an expense of no more than fifty lakhs of the money of that day, according to the *Mirut-i-Aftabnuma*, and was twenty years in progress. It is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile in circumference, and within it were contained originally about a dozen principal buildings, of which some have perished, but the most important still exist in good preservation. There are on the city side two entrances, which are both much in the same state as when Bernier saw them a few years after their completion. After describing these entries, the one guarded by the two statues of the defenders of Chittor,* the other made through the mighty bastion of the Lahore Gate, still standing, the French traveller in his usual lively manner detains us for a moment at the *Nowbut Khana*, or "Nagar-kanay," as he calls it, and tells us how by use, and living at a distance, he had learned to find "something majestical" in a "Musick" that was at first "insufferable" to him. He then proceeds to describe the Royal Halls as he saw them in their pristine splendour:—

"Over against the great gate of the Court, upon which is the *Nagar-kanay*, beyond the whole Court, there is a great and stately hall, with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the Court, and having its pillars and ground painted and guilded. In the midst of the wall, which separateth this hall from the *Seraglio*, there is an opening, or a kind of great window high and large, and so high that a man cannot

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* *Vide* Appendix A.

reach to it from below with his hand. There it is where the King appears seated upon his throne, having his sons on his sides, and some eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans, others stand there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the *Oomrahs*, *Rajas*, and Ambassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomachs: somewhat further off he seeth the *Man-sebdars*, or lesser Oomrahs, which are also all standing in the same posture and respect as the Oomrahs do: and somewhat further off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the Court, he seeth a great crowd of all sorts of people. For there it is where the King, every day about noon, giveth a general audience to all; which is the reason that this great hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small."

We are then entertained with a description of the parade of elephants and fighting animals, and next how "often also one or two of the Oomrahs cause at that time to pass their cavalry for a review before the King: the Oomrahs coveting that their horsemen should appear gallant, advantageously decked with extraordinary garments, and their horses trapped with iron, and harnessed with I know not how many different and odd fashions."

"Feats of arms are exhibited by the younger lords; and the amusements come to an end. Meantime all these divertisements are nothing but an interlude of serious affairs; for, as I have said, the King omits not to make a muster of his cavalry, and well to view them himself. We have seen that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other soldier, but he hath seen him and examined him, either to increase his pay, or to lessen it, or quite to cashier him. Besides it is seen every day, that he commands the petitions, which are shewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought to him and to be read: ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often causing justice to be done them immediately, although

he hath the *Adalet-kanay*, the Chamber of Justice, where he, ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first *Kadys*, or Chief Justices: and though also at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the by) that those Kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember that they owe justice to their subjects."

Passing from the *Am-Khas*—a name given at that time both to the Dewan-Am and to the space in front—the traveller proceeds to conduct us to what is now called the *Dewan-Khas*, but which Bernier calls the *Goselkhané*,* that is, the place to wash in. "But few are suffered to enter there; neither is the Court of it so great as that of the *Am-Kas:* but the hall is very handsome, spatious, painted and guilded, and its floor raised four or five foot high. There it is where the King is seated in a chair, his Oomrahs standing round about him, and giveth a more particular audience to his Officers, receiveth their Accompts, and treateth of the most important affairs of state. All the Oomrahs are obliged to be without fail every evening at this assembly, as in the morning at the *Am-Kas*; else something is retrenched of their pay."

The great gateway of the *Nowbutkhana*, or "Music-house," opened, as we have seen, on the *Deewan-i-Am*, which (as at Agra) formed the main frontage of the Palace. Like that of Agra, it is, on three sides, an open stone tabernacle raised on slender shafts and wavy arches, of which the red stone surface (now bare) was once covered with ornamental plaster. And the fourth side (towards the private apartments) is, as at Agra, a wall. In the midst of this, and raised about ten feet from the floor, was Bernier's "window" containing the throne, reached from behind by a staircase leading from the private apartments, to be more particularly described presently. This throne was

* It appears from contemporary writers that this was the name usually given to the more private apartments in a Mogul palace.

placed in a sort of alcove, the front of which was covered over with a kind of *baldochino*, or pavilion in white marble with gilt mouldings: the back and sides of the above were inlaid somewhat in the fashion of the buildings of Shahjuhan at Agra, but the inlay on the back wall was originally remarkable for the introduction, at certain distances, of frames containing pictures of birds and animals, and of fruits and flowers, treated with an attempt at realism, in no degree resembling the usual art-practice of the Musulmans, and resembling Italian *pietra dura*. The description that follows is from Beresford's *Delhi*, a work published just before the mutiny by the then manager of the Delhi Bank, who was one of the victims to popular fury on that melancholy occasion:—

"It is a large hall open at three sides and supported by rows of red sandstone pillars formerly adorned with gilding and stucco work. In the wall at the back is a staircase that leads up to the throne, which is raised about ten feet from the ground, and is covered by a canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole being curiously inlaid with mosaic work; behind the throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments. The whole of the wall behind the throne is covered with mosaic *paintings*, in precious stones of the most beautiful flowers, fruits, birds, and beasts of Hindostan. Most of them are represented in a very natural manner. They were executed by Austin de Bordeaux,* who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with great skill, sought refuge at the Court of Shah Jehan, where he made his fortune and was in high favour with the Emperor. In front of the throne, and slightly raised above the floor of the hall, is a large slab of white marble, which was formerly richly inlaid with mosaic work, of which the traces only now remain."—*Beresford's Delhi*, 1856.

A native artist has done his best to restore this work in lac; but

* Information about this artist will be found in the work on Agra already referred to.

the figure of the old French designer, "a long-haired Orpheus fiddling among the animals," is no longer to be observed. It was the representation of a beardless youth with flowing yellow locks, seated upon a rock beneath a tree with a leopard, a hare, and a lion crouching at his feet—all in the Italian taste of the day.

Proceeding towards the left the Hall of Special Audience, or *House of Lords*, is reached; a smaller hall in echelon to the first, raised on a marble *estrade* about four feet high with a small but chastely carved balustrade of perforated marble on the front side. The columns of this, the finest hall of its kind in India, are inlaid below with precious stones in floral designs, the upper sections, as well as the ceiling and cornices, being very tastefully gilt. In an old work taken from Mandelslo, Thevenot, and other travellers, it is thus described:—"Two and thirty marble columns sustain as many arches; and these columns are about four feet square with their base and mouldings. When the Emperor Cha Jehan caused that hall to be built, he ordered that it should be all enriched with the finest work of inlaid jewels, like the great duke's chapel in Italy."* "But when they had made the trial on some column to the height of two or three feet, they saw it would be impossible to find a number of jewels sufficient to execute such a grand design, and that the expense would amount to immense sums. They were therefore obliged to abandon that project." Then follows a description of the famous Peacock Throne, valued by Tavernier (himself a jeweller) at "two hundred millions of livres." A better description is that extracted below from Beresford's *Delhi*. The white marble platform on which this extraordinary piece of extravagance rested is still in the hall; and on the cornices at each end is still to be decyphered the famous inscription, in the most beautiful flowing Persian characters, raised and gilt, "*Ugur furdoosee buroo-i-zumeen ust, humeen ust, humeen ust, humeenust*" — familiar to readers of

* The Medicean Chapel at Florence, *vide* Agra Handbook, Appendix A.—"Stone Industries of Agra."

Lalla Rookh as—"If there be an elysium on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."

"In this hall was the famous Peacock Throne, so called from its having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it, their tails being expanded, and the whole so inlaid with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls and other precious stones of appropriate colours as to represent life. The throne itself was six feet long by four feet broad; it stood on six massive feet, which, with the body, were of solid gold, inlaid with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. It was surmounted by a canopy of gold, supported by twelve pillars, all richly emblazoned with costly gems, and a fringe of pearls ornamented the borders of the canopy. Between the two peacocks stood the figure of a parrot of the ordinary size, said to have been carved out of a single emerald (?). On either side of the throne stood an umbrella, one of the oriental emblems of royalty; they were formed of crimson velvet, richly embroidered and fringed with pearls,—the handles were eight feet high, of solid gold, and studded with diamonds. The cost of this superb work of art has been variously stated at sums varying from one to six millions of pounds sterling. It was planned and executed under the supervision of Austin de Bordeaux, already mentioned as the artist who executed the mosaic work in the A'am Khass."—*Beresford's Delhi.*

The Marble Throne, described by Beresford, in the time of the mutiny suffered terribly; the inlaid work on the pillars of green blood-stone foliage, together with the mosaic of birds and fruits, and the curious mosaics of Orpheus charming the beasts with his music, "the masterpiece of Austin de Bordeaux,"* have nearly all disappeared, but have been replaced by lac imitations as above noted.

There is nothing left now of the Peacock Throne but a model at Lucknow. It would appear that this costly piece of ostentation, valued by the jeweller Tavernier at so large a sum, was not

* General Cunningham.

remarkable for grace of design; being merely a sort of large fourpost bed with two peacocks and a parrot perched upon the tester, but all of gems and gold.

The ceiling of the Dewan Khas, in which this throne stood, was plated with solid silver. But the throne was broken up and plundered by Nadir Shah in 1739, and the plating torn down by the Mahrattas in 1760 when they occupied the city for a few months prior to their frightful slaughter by the Affghans at Paniput.

Turning to the left we enter the Hummam, or Turkish Bath, once beautifully inlaid, and now very creditably restored. At the back is the royal Mosque, an elegant structure of white marble, smaller than that in the Agra Palace, but more ornamental. On the opposite, or south side of the Dewan-i-Khas, some of the buildings have been removed (though their foundations can still be traced). But the *Ghoosal-Khana* and *Rung Muhul* still remain, and suffice to show the sumptuous, though not extensive, scale of Shahjuhan's private life. Over the entrance is the symbol of a pair of scales in colours and gold. The *Ghoosal-Khana* is an exquisite suite of apartments, not (as its name might lead one to suppose) devoted to the bath, which has been amply provided for upon the other side. The name is given to the rooms contained in the *Summun Boorj*, or "Jasmine Bastion," devoted to the Monarch's retirement: and all are a marvel of white marble with floral colouring. The *Rung Muhul* beyond is now used as a Mess-house. All the cupolas of this suite were formerly covered with gilt copper.

Between the palace and the bridge is an older fort, the Saleemgurh, built by the son of Sher Shah, the interrex of Homayoon, and only now noticeable as being the only building of importance in that neighbourhood before the site was selected by Shahjuhan. This small fort is not possessed of much beauty or interest; but is curious as having been used as the "tower" or state-prison of the Moguls. The island on which it stands was connected with the shore by a bridge of five arches by Juhangeer—one of the few things he ever did for Dehli.

The Palace of Shahjuhanabad, in the short space of its exist-

ence, has witnessed many startling scenes, mostly tragic. Here, in 1716, the Scottish Surgeon, who cured the Emperor Furrokh Shur on the eve of his marriage, was rewarded by that permission for his employers to establish a factory and to maintain a territory of thirty-eight towns on the banks of the Hooghly, which was the foundation of the "Presidency of Fort William," and all that has since sprung therefrom. Gabriel Hamilton was thus the *homme nécessaire* of the British Indian Empire. Here, on the 31st March 1739, the degenerate Muhumud Shah entered the Throne-room with the fearful Nadir Shah of Persia, and sipped his coffee on the Peacock Throne. Next day, the invaders massacred the citizens before "the dark and terrible eye" of their leader as he looked on from the roof of Roshun-ood-dowlah's Mosque. The Peacock Throne was then broken up, and Nadir returned to Persia with plunder valued at eighty millions sterling in the value of the day. Less than ten years after the Abdalee Chief of Cabul, Ahmud Khan, repeated the cruel lesson and despoiled the Palace of much of its remaining wealth. In 1759 the work was completed by the Mahrattas, under Sudasheo Rao Bhao, marching to their ruin at Paniput; when, as before mentioned, the plating was torn down from the ceiling of the Throne-room. In 1788 the sanctity of the imperial halls was further violated by the cannon-shot of Gholam Kadir, and shortly after by his actual presence. Here he lay and smoked his *hookah* on the faded substitute of the Peacock Throne; and here he, with his own hands, shared in the torture of the royal family and the blinding of the helpless old Emperor Shah Alum. Here, on the 15th September 1803, as the sun was setting, the long cavalcade of Lake defiled into the Am-Khas, where the blinded chief of the house of Timoor was found "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his Royal State, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition." And lastly, here in May 1857, the last representative of the Great Moguls, a not unwilling tool in the hands of the Company's mutinous soldiery, consented to the butchery of helpless women and children.

The original ground-plan of the Palace, beginning from the

northward, embraced (1) the *Boorj-i-Shumalee*, a raised pavilion of white marble, containing the marble bath inlaid with precious stones; (2) the waterworks and garden; (3) the *Dewan-Khas*, already described, opening out of the private apartments reserved for the Emperor's own use, all richly incrusted with patterns and inscriptions; (4) the block of residences called *Imteeaz Muhul*, once splendid with gilding and *pietra dura*, enclosing a garden about 300 feet square, with abundant fountains; (5) west of this stood the *Dewan-Am*, still extant in much of its original beauty of red sandstone and decorated marble; this formed the public façade of the Palace, opening, as before stated, on the *Nowbut-khana*, or music-gate, and forming a sort of *aula regis* for the disposal of business in the sight of the public.

Fergusson, who saw these things before the mutiny, says:—"Its principal entrance is from the Chandnee Chouk, a splendid wide street, nearly a mile long, planted with two rows of trees, and with a canal* of water flowing down its centre. Entering within the deeply-recessed portal you find yourself beneath the roof of a vaulted hall, similar in plan to a Gothic Cathedral, many of which it excels in dimensions. In the centre it is crossed by another hall at right angles, leading to the lateral Courts, and at the upper end is the great Court of the Palace . . . the whole forms perhaps the most noble entrance to a Palace known to exist anywhere." After describing briefly the two halls, on the second of which he bestows warm commendation, the writer proceeds:—"To the left are the gardens laid out in the formal style of the East; and the little golden Mosque, an elaborate and beautiful piece of art, but far too small for such a Palace . . . on the other side is the harem Court, to which no European is admitted . . . Along the river-front, as at Agra, are a number of marble pavilions, generally octagon, covered with gilded domes, some of them of great beauty." So it was in 1857. But since the mutiny most of these buildings have been swept away, or immured in British military constructions.

* This canal has been since covered in with masonry.

JAMA' MUSJID.

The great Mosque of Shahjuhan is the next object that demands the attention of the visitor. The following is the just and picturesque description of Bernier:—

"The great *Mosque*, seen afar off in the midst of the town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the Mosquee, *viz.*, one to the principal gate, or frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the gates, there are twenty-five or thirty steps of fair and large stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut rock: which contributes much to make this fabrick make a shew. The three entries are stately; there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with copper plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal gate, which is much statelier than the two others, there are many small turrets of white marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher then the two others. All the rest of the Mosquee, I mean from these three domes unto the great gate, is without covering, because of the heat of the country; and the whole pavement is of large squares of marble. I grant willingly that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of Architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be followed; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned."

As for the uses of this magnificent temple, take the following further extract:—

"This Mosquee it is to which the King repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahumetans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortress, the streets he is to pass are constantly watered, because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the

gate of the fortress, and as many more on the sides of a great street that ends at the Mosque. The King is followed by a body of Oomrahs, some of which are on horse-back, some in a *Palekey*. Among these Oomrahs there are many *Manseb-dars* and mace-bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent procession, or rather mascarade of the Grand Seignior, (I have no proper name for it) nor the warlike order of our Kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it."

The following is Beresford's account:—

"It has three entrances by handsome gateways of red sandstone, which are approached by magnificent flights of steps of the same material. The principal gateway is to the east side, and is much longer and handsomer than those on the north and south. They all lead into a large quadrangle paved with fine large sandstones, in the centre of which is a marble reservoir of water. On the west side of the square stands the Mosque itself, which is of an oblong form, 201 feet in length and 120 feet broad, and surmounted by three superb cupolas of white marble crowned with culices, or spires of copper richly gilt. The front of the building is partly faced with white marble, and along the cornice are the compartments, each ten feet long and two and a-half feet broad, which are inlaid with black marble inscriptions in the Niski character. The interior is paved throughout with slabs of white marble three feet long by one and a-half broad, each decorated with a black border, which gives it an extremely beautiful appearance. Part of the inner wall is also faced with plain white marble. Near the kibla, or that part which indicates the direction of the city of Mecca, is a handsome Taq, or niche adorned with a profusion of rich frieze-work, and though joined in several places, appears to have been cut out of a solid block of white marble four feet high and six feet in length. The Mosque is flanked by two minarets 130 feet high, composed of white marble and red sandstone placed vertically in alternate stripes, and access is obtained to the top of them by flights of narrow steps of red sandstone in

the interior; at about equal distance there are three projecting galleries, and they are crowned with light pavilions of white marble. . . . Three sides of the terrace, on which this magnificent edifice stands, are enclosed by a colonnade of sandstone, and each corner is ornamented by octagonal pavilions of white marble; the supporting columns being of red sandstone. In the quadrangle at the north-east and south-east are low pillars, on the top of which are fixed marble slabs, on one of which is engraved the Eastern Hemisphere, on the other there are marked certain hour lines; each has an upright iron spike or gnomon, and the shadows shown by the sun indicate to the faithful the time of prayer."—*Beresford's Delhi*, 1856.

This Mosque is a fine specimen of the architecture of Shahjuhan. Like the mosque in the Agra Tripolya, it has a central dome and two side domes; but it differs from the Agra building, not merely in the vast extent of its quadrangle and the cloisters open to the outside, but also in form and colour. The domes are of pure marble; and, instead of rising at once from the roof-line, are placed upon drums, out of which they emerge in a curve that almost resembles that of a balloon. It was begun in 1644, just seven years later than the Agra Mosque; and it shows signs of the turning-point for the worse which about that time occurs in Hindoostanee art. It is said to have employed a daily average of 5,000 workmen for a period of six years, but it was not finally completed till A.D. 1658, the same year that witnessed the deposition of its founder the Emperor Shahjuhan. It stands on a rocky eminence less than a hundred yards to the westward of the Palace Gate; and in later days his short pilgrimage formed the limit of the extramural movements of the once "Great Mogul." Hither, on the *Eed*, the King of Dehli came in faded pomp, and here the sacrifice of Abraham was reproduced by a camel which was slaughtered by the hands of Royalty—here on a Friday in September 1857 was read the last Litany for the house of Timoor.

In conclusion it may be added that Fergusson (*Hist. Archit. II.*, 688) takes this Mosque as a type of the religious building of the age, and adds that in all such the eastern gate will be found more

splendid than those to the north and south, the western extremity being necessarily occupied by the portion expressly set apart for prayer and preaching, and backed by the *Mihrab* or recess looking to Mecca. He says further, "the whole forms a group intelligible at the first glance, and, as an architectural object, possesses a variety of outline and play of light and shade which few buildings can equal."

THE CITY.

The following brief sketch of the City and its contents has been borrowed from Captain Harcourt:—

The circuit of the walls of the City is five and a-half miles: of the citadel and palace one and a-half miles. The latter has two entrances, called respectively the Lahore and the Dehli Gates.

The City has ten as below:—

1.—The Calcutta Gate to the N. E., close to the Palace: this leads to the Railway.

2.—The Cashmere Gate to the N., by the Church and Kutcherry.

3.—The Moree Gate to the N.

4.—The Cabul Gate to the W., facing the Sudder Bazaar.

5.—The Lahore Gate to the W., faces the Sudder Bazaar, and is the exit from the Chandnee Chouk.

6.—The Farash Khana Gate to the S. W.

7.—The Ajmere Gate to the S. W.

8.—The Turkoman Gate to the S.

9.—The Dehli Gate to the S.

10.—Raj Ghat to the E., facing the River.

Entering by the Cashmere Gate, the road to the extreme right leads to the Dehli and Punjab Railway Terminus, on the Hamilton Road. By the road to the left, which may be called the main road of Dehli, the visitor passes the Law Courts and the Church built by Colonel Skinner. Further on he will remark

the Government Dehli College, a building with a lofty pillared verandah. Beyond is the Magazine, now used as Dâk Bungalow, Post Office, and Telegraph Office, a portion of which was blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby in the outbreak of 1857, to prevent its contents falling into the hands of the rebels.

The old Cemetery of Dehli comes next. Then, passing under the Railway Bridge, the visitor debouches on the Queen's Road, a spacious roadway running parallel with the line of Railway from the Calcutta Gate of the City to the Moree Gate, both of which have been dismantled. On his immediate right is St. Mary's Catholic Church. Then the Queen's Sarai, a huge structure, with an imposing frontage built by the Municipal Committee, at a cost of Rs. 100,570, for the accommodation of Native and European travellers. Next is the entrance to the Queen's Gardens, and further on the East India Railway Terminus. On the left outside angle formed by the level crossing of the Railway line with the Queen's Road, is St. Stephen's Church, belonging to the S. P. G. I. Mission. In advance of this—500 yards—is the Moree Gate. As the visitor debouches from the Railway Bridge (called Lothian Bridge), the lofty walls of the Palace will be seen on his left. If this road is still followed up, it will lead through the Faiz Bazaar to the Dehli Gate, through which the corpses of the sons of the ex-Emperor Bahadoor Shah were brought back after the Princes had been shot dead by Hodson, just subsequent to the complete evacuation of the City by the mutineers in 1857. This part of the town is termed Duriow-gunge, where are the lines of a Native Infantry Regiment, and the houses of many European residents.

The celebrated Chandnee Chouk is no longer what it was. Its glories have ceased, and it is unlikely that the scenes of gaudy pomp once there enacted will ever again meet the eye.

The shops are probably as brave in outward show as they ever were, but the moving throng of richly-dressed nobles riding on caprisoned horses, lounging on their elephants, or borne along in parti-colored palankeens, have passed away for ever.

The Dehli Institute in the Chandnee Chouk will well repay a

visit. It is one of the largest buildings in the European style of architecture in India, and is a great ornament to the City. It contains the Station Library, Museum, Municipal Office, Durbar Room, and Rooms for social reunions. This structure was erected at the expense of the Municipal Committee at a cost of Rs. 1,35,457.

Facing the Dehli Institute on the Chandnee Chouk side is a handsome and well-finished Clock Tower with four faces, and a chime of five bells. The City is indebted for this useful, as well as ornamental, structure also to the Municipal Committee, at a cost of Rs. 25,500. It is 128 feet above the ground.

The visitor should, by no means, fail to drive round the Queen's Gardens, which are very tastefully laid out in the English style. Opposite the Institute, with which the Gardens are connected, is the Band Stand. A branch of Ali Murdan's Canal passes through the Gardens.

If time can be given, a pleasant drive may be had by leaving the City at the Cashmere Gate, and turning sharp to the left, following up the circular road which goes close to the walls; and passing the Moree, Cabul, Lahore, Farash Khana, Ajmere and Turkoman Gates, entrance to the City can be again made at the Dehli Gate. The road from this last Gate leads to Feeroz Shah's Lat, the Fort of Purana Killa, Homayoon's Tomb, &c. The road to the Kootub leaves the circular road just about the Lahore Gate.

Outside the Cashmere Gate is the new Cemetery, where lie the mortal remains of John Nicholson, a great soldier, and a great man in every sense of the word: he fell in the attack on Delhi, being mortally wounded in leading the stormers along the inside of the ramparts on the 14th of September 1857.*

A modern Jain temple is considered a curiosity by some travellers, but permission to visit it is obtained with difficulty. In the Chandnee Chouk is the Mosque of Roshun-ood-Dowla, from the terrace of which the terrible Nadir witnessed the

* *Vide infra*, p. 60.

slaughter of the inhabitants of Dehli in 1732; hard by is the *Kotwalee*, or chief Police Station, where Hodson exposed the bodies of the Princes whom he slew in 1857. Every spot around seems marked in blood in this home of Imperial Tragedy, happily at peace now.

KALA MUSJID.

Last in the list of objects for the first day is the *Kala*, more properly *Kullan*, *Musjid*. This, says Harcourt, is only interesting to antiquarians: nevertheless—since there may be some of that class among the visitors to our antiquities—all that is known of this ancient building must here be told.

Situate south of the modern town, near the Gate called *Toorkman*, it originally formed part of the City of Feerozabad—to be described presently. It was finished, as recorded in an inscription on its walls, A.D. 1386 (*temp.* Feeroz Shah Toghluk) in the massive unornamented style of the second Pathan period.* This severe spirit is quite characteristic of the latter part of the fourteenth century. Perhaps, having instructed Musalman workmen, the architects of the day had dispensed with Hindoo aid; perhaps it was merely the material expression of a reaction against Hindoo exuberance of all kinds, such as had so strongly infected the earlier architecture of the Pathans in India. A richer style was afterwards to reappear before the introduction of complete eclecticism under the Moguls.

The following account of this curious building is borrowed from Cunningham:—

The *Kala Musjid* is a single room 71 feet in length by 41 feet in breadth, with two rows of four pillars each down the centre, and one row of coupled pillars along the front. These columns divide the whole area into fifteen squares, each of which is covered by a small dome, the central one being higher than the

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* Fergusson's Hist. Archit. II., 655.

rest. The walls are thick, and the three openings in them filled with red-stone screen-work. There is a small quadrangular Court in front, and the whole is enclosed by an outer wall of great thickness. On the outside the building consists of two storeys, of which the lower, forming a kind of plinth to the actual place of worship, is 28 feet high, the total height to the top of the battlements being 66 feet. The walls of the upper storey have a number of openings, all of which were once filled with the bold geometrical tracery of the period in white marble. General Cunningham regards this as a characteristic and favourable specimen of the architecture of the fourteenth century. It is supposed to have been originally covered completely with brightly painted plaster, most of which, however, has now disappeared. The rest of the work is still solid and strong; and after the lapse of five centuries is in good preservation.

FEEROZABAD.

The tourist who adopts our "Diary" will set out on his second day from the South-east or Dehli Gate of the modern City, and drive southward, having on his left the old bank of the Jumna, and on his right the old Sanscrit *Prustha*, or "field," called after the god Indra. This was one of the five tracts belonging to the five Pandoo brothers, which were claimed by their leader as the price of peace. The Kooroo Monarch Duryodhun replying that he should have no territory, not so much as could be covered by the point of a needle, the Pandoo leader and the other four brothers marched against the King, and overthrew him in the famous field of Kooroochet, not far from the Prustha called Paniput, where the temporary fate of India has been decided three several times in subsequent days. Cunningham gives reasons for dating these transactions about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., thus making Dehli contemporaneous with Nineveh and the Exodus. In those days the river flowed

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about a mile to the westward of its present bed, its course being almost coincident with that of the present road. The first place of interest is the *Kotila* of Feeroz Shah Toghluk (1351—88) with the stone-pillar. This is a Booddhist remain, brought down from the Sub-Himalayan country, where the contemporaries of Antiochus and Ptolemy had one of their chief seats, and has now for ages stood upon the top of a three-storied structure where it still is. When Finch was here, it had on its top a globe surmounted with a crescent—the form of pinnacle so common in Indian buildings, and, as was usual, gilt. Hence its name of *Minara-i-Zureen*, "golden pillar" (*vide* Appendix B). "The golden pillar" is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. The older inscriptions (for which the pillar was originally erected) comprise the well-known edicts of Asoka, which were promulgated in the middle of the third century B.C. in the ancient Pali, or spoken language of the day [a vernacular Sanscrit of Booddhist times, and now the sacred language of some Booddhist countries]. "The inscription ends with a short sentence, in which King Asoka directs the setting up of monoliths in different parts of his Kingdom."—(*Cunningham*). This piilar is covered with inscriptions in Pali, and dating from the reign of Asoka 300—200 B.C. A similar pillar was put up at the N.W. part of this same City of Feeroz, in his hunting Palace, where Hindoo Rao's house now stands. The inscriptions, as far as they can be traced, are mere duplicates of the first named.*

The City of Feeroz was upwards of six miles in length by two in average breadth, if it took in the *Khooshuk Shikar* on the ridge. But Cunningham considers it improbable that the whole of this space was occupied. Its population is estimated by him to have been about 150,000, about that of modern Agra.†

The Palace of Feeroz, the remains of which surround the

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* *Vide infra*, Appendix B.

† But *vide infra*, p. 66.

Kotila, formed the nucleus or citadel of this extensive space, but its exact dimensions cannot now be traced. The remarks of Fergusson on the *Kullan Musjid* are illustrative of the style that prevailed in the day when Feerozabad was built, and which probably characterised this Palace, the second or middle Pathan school. Its origin is thus described by the same writer:—

"After sustaining a defeat in 1191, Shahab-ood-deen (Ghoree) entered India in 1193, when he attacked and defeated Pirthee Raj of Dehli. Next year he conquered Canouj, and founded the Pathan empire of India, at the head of which he died in 1206. In this portion of his dominion he was succeeded by Kootub-ood-deen Aibuk, a Turkman, who had risen from slavery to command the army in India. He and his successor Altumsh introduced Pathan architecture; their principal works were in the old Hindoo cities at the Kootub. In its first period the style was characterised by all the richness which Hindoo elaboration could bestow; in the second, by a stern simplicity and grandeur much more appropriate, according to our ideas, to the spirit of the people; and during the latter part of its existence, by return to the elaborateness of the past, but at this period every detail was fitted to its place and purpose. We forget the Hindoo [workman] except in his delicacy, and we recognise one of the completed architectural styles of the world."—*Hist. Archit.*, pp. 645-646.

INDRAPUT.

Following the old bank the road passes between the *Lal Durwaza* and the *Poorana Killa*, to which the name of *Indraput* (corruption of Indraprustha) is now especially restricted by the people. The *Lal Durwaza*, "this fine and massive gateway" (Cunningham), is a well-preserved specimen of the third period of the style of architecture to which the last remarks refer, and was the Cabool Gate of Sher Shah's City. The Fort on the opposite side was the citadel and Palace whence Homayoon was expelled

by Sher Shah, and to which he returned to die after his rival's death. The Brentford of these two quarrelsome Kings extended from the *Lal Durwaza* to the south of Homayoon's tomb, and the circuit of the *enceinte* was about double that of Shahjuhanabad or modern Dehli. In January 1612 Finch entered it from the south, crossing the stream in front of the Ajmere Gate by a bridge of eleven arches, known as "the *Bura Pool*," which is still in existence.* The citadel of Homayoon (called Shergurh and Shahgurh during his exile) is but small. He appears to have begun the structure, as it now stands, in 1533 A.D., but his rival, on his expulsion, strengthened and beautified it seven years later. The circuit of the walls is little more than a mile; in shape it is almost rectangular. The interior is now filled up with native huts, *pauperum tabernæ*; but royal towers are not wanting; and the *Killa Kona* Mosque is the finest known specimen of the third Pathan period, about 1540, just before this school of art was about to merge in the more ambitious eclectic style of the earlier Moguls. The front is at once massive and elegant; consisting of a crenellated sky-line with small pinnacles at the corners, and a fine bold dome, of true structural outline, in the centre. This Mosque is wonderfully sharply carved, as well in the red stone as in the marble; and the effect is at once broad and refined. It is entered by five arches, exhibiting

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* William Finch, the merchant mariner, whose visit to Dehli has been above referred to, and whose journal is abstracted in *Purchas, Lib. iv. Ch.* 4, did not, of course, see Dehli as we know it. His "Dely" was the city of Sher Shah and Homayoon, and, with the exception of the last named monarch's Mausoleum (which he saw filled with his relics) was in almost as desolate a state as now. He tells us, I know not on what authority that it was the Rheims of the Moguls; "The Kings of India must here be crowned, or else they are held usurpers." He adds that "it is seated in a goodly plain, environed with goodly pleasant gardens and monuments." In those days the neighbourhood was "all inhabited by Googers."

In the copy of Purchas that I have consulted, Finch does not speak of "seven castles," but of nine. So also de Laet (*vide* the abstract translation by Prof. Lethbridge).

a slight tendency to the horse-shoe form, and thrown back from high and deeply-embrasured portals, of a similar shape, though larger size. All are ornamented with slate, marble, and coloured stone; and the interior still preserves considerable traces of enamelling. Fergusson (*Hist. Archit.*, 655) thus describes the class to which this Mosque belongs:—

"The façades of these Mosques became far more ornamental and more frequently encrusted with marbles, and always adorned with sculpture of a rich and beautiful character; the angles of the buildings were often ornamented with little kiosques, supported by four richly bracketed pillars, but never with minarets. . . . The call to prayer was made from the roof. . . . The Pathans seem to have regarded the Minar as the Italians viewed the Campanile, more as a symbol of power and of victory than as an adjunct to a house of worship." Hard by is the *Sher Mundir* or *Mundil*, an octagonal building of three stories, said to have been used as a library, and bearing traces of having been once decorated within with mural painting. It was from the top of this that the restored Homayoon fell, having risen too suddenly after the call to prayer from the adjacent Mosque. He appears to have fallen down one flight of the staircase, and to have lain at the foot for some time stunned: on recovering his senses he walked home, but the injuries were more serious than at first supposed, and proved fatal after a short illness, 26th January 1556.—*Journ. As. Soc.*, *XL*, 133.

Before leaving Feerozabad, the traveller may be glad to be reminded of an interest of later days attaching to it. Among the ruins of Feeroz's Palace it was that the imbecile Emperor Alumgeer II was decoyed to his murder in 1759. The water was then high, and the poor Prince's headless trunk was flung from a window and exposed upon the bank.

Though not in this neighbourhood, the *Kuddum Shureef* or *Furash Khana* may be here mentioned, as showing the extent to which Feerozabad stretched in one direction. It is a fortified enclosure of the time of Feeroz Shah, not far from the Lahore Gate of Shahjuhanabad, and has externally much of the not

ungraceful strength that marks the stone-mason's work of that era. The inner enclosure is a *Durgah*, or shrine of stone thickly coated with lime, and containing a low pillared chamber, in which is the tomb of Futteh Shah, the King's son, who died in his father's lifetime, and who was buried under an impression of the Prophet's foot brought from Mecca by his Tutor Mukhdoom Juhana. (Such at least is the local tradition). The chamber, like the cloisters by which it is flanked, is supported upon square pillars with brackets looking as if they had been taken from a Hindoo temple. One of Feeroz's masonry tanks is close outside, but is rapidly falling into decay.

HOMAYOON'S TOMB.

This Emperor's Mausoleum is a mile or so south of the Fort. It was commenced by the deceased monarch's widow Hajee Begum; and completed by his son and successor Ukbur, who is said to have spent fifteen lakhs of rupees on it and sixteen years of labour. It is interesting as forming the first known example of the style of sepulchre afterwards to become so famous in the Taj of Agra, another conjugal monument nearly a century later in date. It is the earliest work of the Mogul period, and presents some of the peculiarities by which that school is distinguished. Cunningham thus describes the building:—"The exterior form . . . is a square with the corners cut off on an octagon with four long and four short faces, and each of the short faces forms one side of the four octagonal corner towers. In this tomb we first see towers attached to the four angles of the main building . . . they form an important innovation in the Muhammadan architecture of Northern India, which was gradually improved and developed, until it culminated in the graceful Minars of the Taj Mahal . . . Another innovation observable in this tomb is the narrow-necked dome which was afterwards adopted in all the Moghul buildings."

It must not be supposed from these concluding words that the

dome of the tomb is of the bulbous shape of those at the Taj or at Shahjuhan's Mosque in Dehli. On the contrary, the termination of the hemisphere is marked by a firmly moulded cornice, which gives this dome a bold and graceful curve that it would have been well had its successors understood and maintained. In its large marble dome and side kiosques, its majestic portals, and storeyed openings, its lofty plinth with doorways, this building is clearly the forerunner of the Taj. Instead, however, of the unmixed and unsullied material which renders the later edifice so unique, the basement of this tomb largely employs stone, though white marble forms the substance of the domes and the decoration of the lower structure. The side chambers contain the tombs of many of the house of Timoor, amongst others of the luckless Dara Shekoh, eldest son of Shahjuhan, slain by the bigoted usurper Aurungzeb (his younger brother) in 1659. The central hall is famous in modern times as the temporary retreat of the Royal Family, and in September 1857, for the bold conduct of Major Hodson and Lieutenant Macdowell, who, attended only by a few native troopers, entered the enclosure and took out the sons of the ex-King Bahadoor Shah, whom Hodson executed with his own hand the same day.

The following remarks are by a well-informed writer in *Indian Public Opinion* :—

"When Homayoon died, Ukbur, a child of thirteen, was at Lahore; the funeral must have been conducted under the direction of Hajee Begum, whose relation to her husband was that of a companion, as well as of an adviser. The Mausoleum was commenced by Hajee Begum, but it was finished by Ukbur at a cost of fifteen lacs of rupees, and is said to have occupied two hundred masons daily for sixteen years. The ashes of Homayoon repose with those of five of his descendants who wore the crown of Dehli, and of eleven others who were the councillors, generals, and friends of Kings. Out of the eighteen marble tombs erected in this magnificent building, only one gives the name of the honoured dead; it was with considerable difficulty that we succeeded in identifying the grave of the

unfortunate Dara, a Prince in whose history there is much that puts us in mind of the military ardour of Rupert and the ill-fated popularity of Monmouth."

Opposite Homayoon's tomb will be found some works of the later Puthan and first Mogul styles. The earlier and larger is the Mosque of Esa Khan, about 1545 A.D., and it is worth a visit. Fifteen or sixteen years later was built the neighbouring tomb of Ukbur's foster-father, murdered by Udhum Khan (*vide infra*, p. 49); and the traveller can see, by comparing these two, what was the nature of the transition that took place at this epoch.

Several small and very beautiful family cemeteries remain to be visited before leaving this neighbourhood.

NIZAMOODEEN.

The enclosure to this cemetery is entered by an unimportant gateway. The first building, the *Chounsut Kumba* (or "sixty-four pillars,") contains the tomb of Azeeza Kokul Tash, the foster-brother of the great Ukbur, and several others of less interest. It is a marble hall with twenty-five small domes, and the pillars that support them from within form elegant groined arches. On all four sides is a carved screen of white marble. The building is a curious one, and a good specimen of the period of Ukbur (the 1st Mogul). It seems to have been intended for a canopy to a family vault.

Further on is an enclosure formed round the tomb of the great Ouleea adventurer Shah Nizamoodeen, who served under the Emperor Ala-ood-deen Khilji about the end of the thirteenth century. He is said by some to have been a sorcerer, by others, an assassin of the Secret Society of Khorasan. Sleeman was of opinion that he was the founder of thuggism, as the thugs profess a special reverence for his memory.*

* This man's history would probably reward careful enquiry.

There is considerable ground for suspecting him of complicity in the death of the Emperor Toghluk Shah, 1325. He said the Emperor would never come to Dehli, and when he heard of his nearing the Palace, only remarked "*Hunoz Dillee door ust*" (Dehli is still far). The heir-apparent received his father in a magnificent pavilion at Afghanpoor, which had been erected for the occasion. Immediately on the Emperor's entrance he was crushed by the fall of the roof. The son who thus succeeded became the notorious tyrant Mohummud Toghluk.*

The tomb has a very graceful appearance, and is surrounded by a verandah of white marble, while a pierced marble screen encloses the sarcophagus, which is always covered with a cloth. Round the grave-stone runs a carved wooden guard, and from the four corners rise stone pillars draped with cloth, which support an angular wooden frame-work, and which has something of the appearance of a canopy to a bed. Below this wooden canopy there is stretched a cloth of green and red, much the worse for wear. The interior of the tomb is covered with painted figures in Arabic, and at the head of the grave is a stand with a Koran. The marble screen is very richly cut, and the roof of the arcade-like verandah is finely painted in a flower pattern.

The Mogul dome is of the era of Ukbur, and further additions and improvements have been made since, which somewhat impair the harmony of the work by blending different and somewhat remote styles.

Flanking this Mausoleum is the celebrated *Jumat Khana* Mosque, a fine specimen of the gloomy style that preceded the architecture of Feeroz, and called here "the 2nd Puthan." On the face is a chronogram on a small plaque in the wall, the last line of which contains a chronogram yielding the date 725H. (= 1326, *vide Agra Handbook, Appendix.*)

Contemporary with this hero was the Poet Khoosroo, who now lies buried near him. "He moved about where he pleased through the Palace of the Emperor Toogluck Shah 500 years

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* *Vide* Appendix C.

ago, and sang *extempore* to his lyre, while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul. His popular songs are still the most popular, and he is one of the favored few who live through ages in the every-day thoughts and feelings of many millions, while the crowned heads that patronised him in their brief day of pomp and power are forgotten or remembered merely as they happen to be connected with him." — *General Sleeman's Rambles.*

It is interesting to find that, though he was a man of no special sanctity, the squalid posterity of the neighbourhood still tend the Poet's grave. The lines on the headstone outside the mortuary chamber contain his nickname of "The Parrot," and the concluding double chronogram yields 725 H., the same date as that of the *Jumat Khana* Mosque.

In the same enclosure is the tomb of Meerza Juhangeer. The tomb itself, raised some few feet from the ground, is entered by steps, and is enclosed in a beautiful carved marble screen, the sarcophagus being covered with a very artistic representation of leaves and flowers chiselled in marble. Meerza Juhangeer was the son of Ukbur II., and the tomb was built in A.D. 1832. The tomb of Juhanara Begum is also in the same cemetery with the above; the sarcophagus is enclosed in a marble screen. Juhanara Begum was the daughter of the Emperor Shahjuhan, and sister to the unfortunate Dara Sheko, the heir-apparent to Shahjuhan's throne, easily defeated and put to death by his younger brother, Aurungzeb, who deposed his father, and mounted the throne in his place. Juhanara was a most estimable princess, adorned with every virtue that a woman possesses: she refused to share the splendours of Aurungzeb's Court, and preferred to stay with her father in his captivity at Agra. Aurungzeb is suspected of having removed her to Dehli to murder her. Tavernier saw her removal from Agra by order of Aurungzeb. She was brought to Dehli by the tyrant, and probably murdered there as a tribute to the jealousy of her sister who lived with him. On her tomb are these words,—a part of the inscription is said to

have been written by herself:—"Let no rich coverlet adorn my grave: this grass is the best covering for the tomb of the poor in spirit, the humble, the transitory Juhanara, the disciple of the holy men of Cheest, the daughter of the Emperor Shahjuhan." It was for this Mogul Cordelia that Shahjuhan built the Jamaa Musjid of Agra.

Still in the same enclosure is the tomb of the incompetent Mohummud Shah, Emperor from 1719 to 1748, whose last days on the Peacock Throne have been already glanced at in describing the Palace of Shahjuhanabad. It was in this long and inglorious reign that the terrible massacre of the citizens took place by order of Nadir Shah.

Hard by is Nizamooddeen's Bowlee, or well-house, similar to so many here and at Agra, and described in the first of this series. A cheap sensation is to be had by giving certain boys a few coppers to reward them for jumping into the water feet foremost.

The special interest of this small cemetery is its containing specimens of carved and pierced marble work of five centuries ready for comparison.

THE ROAD TO THE KOOTUB.

The tourist who pursues the instructions contained in the commencement of this *Guide* will return to Dehli (Shahjuhanabad) from his visit to the places last described, and set out again the next morning for the *Kootub Minar*, a drive of about 11 miles, which is the Appian way of Dehli, and has on either hand more tombs than could be either visited or described to any useful purpose. We will suppose him to take this road in the early dawn, in order to save time for sight seeing. He will perhaps at first—if in winter—have a somewhat cold drive, in the course of which he will pass on one hand the *Juntur Muntur*, on the other the Mausoleum of Sufdur Jung. In the former he will see a "folly" of the last century, in the shape of an observatory constructed for the Emperor Mohum-

mud Shah, about 1730 A.D. by Jay Singh, Rajah of Jaypoor, of which the following is a good description, taken from Beresford's *Delhi*:—"The largest of the buildings is an immense equatorial dial named by the Rajah the Semrat Yunter, or Prince of Dials: the dimensions of the gnomon being as follows:—

		ft.	*in.*	
Length	f hypotheneuse	118	5	
"	" base ...	104	0	
"	" perpendicular	56	75	(?)

"This is now much injured. At a short distance, nearly in front of the great dial, is another building in somewhat better preservation; it is also a sun-dial, or rather several dials combined in one building. In the centre is a staircase leading to the top, and its side walls form gnomons to concentric semi-circles, having a certain inclination to the horizon, and they represent meridians removed by a certain angle from the meridian of the Observatory. The outer walls form gnomons to graduated quadrants, one to the east and the other to the west. A wall connects the four gnomons, and on its northern face is described a large quadrilateral semi-circle for taking the altitudes of the celestial bodies. Lying east and west to the south of the great equatorial dial stand two circular buildings open at the top, and each having a pillar in the centre: from the bottom of the pillar thirty horizontal radii of stone, gradually increasing in breadth till they recede from it, are built to the circular wall: each of these forms a sector of six degrees, and the corresponding spaces between the radii being of the same dimensions, make up the circle of 360 degrees. In the wall at the spaces between the radii and recesses, on either side of which are square holes at convenient distances, to enable the observer to climb to such heights as was necessary to read off the observation, each of the recesses had two windows, or rather openings, many of which have been since built up. On the edge of the recesses are marked the tangents of the degrees

of the sun's altitude, as shown by the shadow of the pillar, and numbered from 1 to 45 degrees. When the sun exceeds that height, the degrees are marked on the radii, numbered from the pillar in such a manner as to show the complement of its altitude; these degrees are sub-divided into minutes, but the opposite spaces in the walls have no sub-division, being merely divided into six parts of one degree each; the shadow of the sun falling on either of the divisions show the sun's azimuth; in like manner lunar and stellar altitudes and azimuths may be observed. These two buildings, being exactly alike in all respects, were doubtless designed to correct errors by comparing the results of different observations obtained at the same instant of time."—*Beresford's Delhi*, 1856.

The monument of Sufdur Jung is also a monument of the degradation which befel Mogul architecture in the century that followed the building of the Taj at Agra. On this subject the following remarks of Mr. Fergusson should be recorded:—

"With Aurungzeb the decline [of art] set in steadily and rapidly, and before his death the art of the Moghuls had perished. When that monarch was residing at Aurungabad between the years 1650—1657, he lost his favourite daughter, and in honour of her memory ordered his architects to produce an exact copy of his father's celebrated tomb, the Taj Muhal. They believed they were doing so, but the difference between the two monuments is startling."—*Hist. Archit., II.*, 687.

The difference indeed must have been rather one of place than of time, for the Taj itself was not finished till 1648, nor the Motee Musjid of Agra till six years later. Still even those buildings show the commencement of decadence in some of their lines; and when Sufdur Jung died a hundred years later, the decay of taste was accomplished. This pretentious but unsuccessful effort is thus described in the Guide-book of Captain Harcourt.

"The Mausoleum is situated in a garden enclosed on the four sides by a wall, at the corners of which are pavilions of red sandstone. On three sides of the garden, which may be over 300 yards square, there are apartments for visitors."

The Mausoleum stands on a terrace; beneath this, says Beresford in his book on Dehli (1856), " is a vault containing a grave of plain earth, covered with a cloth strewed daily with fresh flowers. In the centre of the first floor is a beautiful marble sarcophagus, elegantly carved and highly polished. The building is surmounted by a marble dome" (this is now very much out of repair), and as a Mausoleum is a " remarkable and majestic structure. It was erected by Nawab Shuja-oo-doulah, son of Sufdur Jung."

Sufdur Jung did not, perhaps, deserve a better monument. His lot was cast in villanously selfish times; and the best that can be said for him is that others were as bad as he. The nephew of the wily immigrant Saadut Khan—a Sheeah adventurer from Khorasan, who became Viceroy of Oudh, and Vuzeer of the Empire—Sufdur Jung succeeded his uncle, sometimes in one capacity, sometimes in another. Overthrown in Dehli politics by the bold and crafty Ghazeeoodeen (grandson of the old Tookrman noble, who founded the dynasty of Hyderabad), Sufdur Jung held aloof while the feeble Emperor Ahmud Shah rushed upon his fate. Before his disgrace he had occupied himself with endeavouring to introduce something like administration into the distracted province of Rohilkhund, from which he had expelled the former conqueror, a Pathan or Afghan, named Ali Mohamed. And now while the Court and Cabinet were torn by murderous intrigues, Sufdur Jung once more turned his attention to these neighbours of his, and tried, for purposes of his own, to sow strife amongst them. He died in 1754 before his machinations had taken any very active form; but he bequeathed his policy to his son, in whose hands it bore well-known fruits—to him and to his English allies.* It should be added that *Sufdur Jung* was only a title signifying " Piercer of Battle ranks," the real name of the statesman being Munsoor Ali Khan. And his tomb has interest, both on account of the part played by its occupant in the politics of the Mogul Empire in its decadence,

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* *Vide* Keene's Mogul Empire.

and in virtue of its being the last grand effort of Mogul architecture. From Sufdur Jung's tomb there is a cross road to that of Homayoon, a distance of three miles, on the left of which, opposite the gate of the first named Mausoleum, is a group of four tombs, and a Mosque, probably of the third Pathan period, which General Cunningham thus describes:—

"The northern group," says General Cunningham in a letter to the Secretary of the Local Fund Committee of Dehli, "consisting of two *octagonal* tombs and a bridge of seven arches, is attributed by the natives to the time of the Lodi family; the larger tomb, within a square, being assigned to Sekunder Lodi, and I believe that this attribution is most probably correct. But the southern group, which consists of a Musjid and two square tombs, belongs, in my opinion, to an earlier period. I am led to this conclusion by the style of the building, which is quite distinct from that of the Lodi period" (A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1526) as well "as from that of the Seiad dynasty" (A.D. 1414 to A.D. 1444). "If we may judge by the solitary specimen of Sad Mobarik's Tomb on the other hand, the style of the Musjid agrees precisely with that of Feroz's great Mosque in Ferozabad (no longer existing) as described by Timour's historians, as well as with that of another Musjid of Feroz which formerly existed at Depapore, in the Punjab."

General Cunningham, in his official report of the state of the buildings about Dehli, considers that "the Musjid attached to these buildings is the only existing specimen of the ornamented Mosque of the time of Feroz, which so much attracted the attention of Timour" (or Tamerlane, in A.D. 1398, when he ravaged India,) "that he carried off all the masons who had built it to Samarkand, that they might erect another like it in his capital. The Mosque of Ferozabad is described by Ferishta as covered with inscriptions detailing the ordinances issued by Feroz. Of this Mosque only the back wall is now standing, but the Musjid, as above mentioned, which I wish to see cleared, corresponds exactly with the description of the historian. Its front is entirely covered with inscriptions and draperied ornaments in a very hard plaster,

which is still fresh and sharp, after the lapse of five centuries. The interior walls are also thickly covered with inscriptions and ornaments cut in hard stone, which are now as perfect as when first executed." This beautiful building will reward the short walk required to reach it. The tomb on the south side of the courtyard is also very handsome and well-preserved; and its dome is as finely shaped and proportioned as any in Europe. These works appear to belong to a somewhat later and more ornate style than that assigned to them by Cunningham.

In the neighbourhood will be found the Howz Khas and tomb of Feeroz Shah (*Circ.* A.D. 1388), and buildings of the same period (the second or undecorated Pathan) at Begumpoor and Roshun Chiragh.

Begumpoor is a curious old specimen of Pathan workmanship, a good deal larger than Keerkee, to which it still presents so many features of general resemblance, that there is very little hesitation in putting the date of erection some time in Feeroz Shah's reign (A.D. 1351 to A.D. 1385). There is a massive entrance, approached by a flight of stairs, which are in a very dilapidated state. It lies about 800 yards to the left of the road leading from Delhi to the Kootub, and is some three miles from the latter.

BOODDEE MUNZIL, OR BOORJ MUNDUL.

The place was probably a Palace, and it is marked by the square pillars, lancet-arches, and general air of puritan and unadorned sternness, whichmark the second Pathan period of architecture. On the west side is a disused Mosque, with a very grand embayed portal and a vault of massive simplicity. Opposite the Begumpoor enclosure is a strange heap of ruins called *Booddee Munzil*, possibly the remains of a hunting-lodge. Nothing now remains of it but a domed pavilion, flanked by a four-sided turret or bastion, from the top of which there is a

good view. It can hardly have been within any of the cities of the neighbourhood, and was probably a mere "folly" of one of the Pathan Princes of the "second period."

THE VILLAGE OF HOWZ KHAS

Lies some four or five miles to the north-east of the Kootub, and is approached most easily from Sufdur Jung's tomb. There is no carriage road to it. It contains what is called Feeroz Shah's bath or tank, and a tomb said to have been built by Mahomed Shah (A.H. 762).

Timoor says in his memoirs:—

"This is a reservoir which was constructed by Sultan Feeroz Shah, and faced all round with stone and cement. Each side is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings round it. The tank is filled by the rain during the rainy season; it supplies the neighbourhood with water during the year. The tomb of Feeroz Shah stands upon the bank." The area of the tank is over a hundred beegahs, but is now a complete ruin, the surface being used for cultivation. Feeroz Shah, who died in A.D. 1388, is buried in a tomb close by.

The walled town of Roshun Chiragh Dehli is about four miles from the Kootub, in the Shahjuhanabad direction. Roshun Chiragh is a shrine erected to the memory of Sheikh Nasir-ood-deen Mohamed, and was built by Feeroz Shah, who reigned from A.D. 1351 to A.D. 1385. The tomb of Sultan Behlol Lodi, who reigned from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1488, lies behind that of the saint. The interior of the court is filled with various tombs, more or less worthy of inspection, and kept in fair order. The town itself is a poor place, with nothing in it to recommend it to the notice of the visitor: it used to have three gateways, but two of these being considered unsafe were closed.—*Harcourt.*

KEERKEE.

Not far from Begumpoor, and some three miles to the right of the road turning to Delhi, and four from the Kootub, will be found a Fort and Mosque of the same period in the village of *Keerkee*, of which the following is a description :—

"The Mosque of Kirkhee is an enormous structure situated on high ground, and is built of dark-colored granite, and cased all over with black chunam, which gives it a very sombre appearance. It is a square, supported at the four corners by towers nearly 50 feet high; has two storeys, and is crowned with 89 small domes of very plain but most solid construction. The whole building is in excellent preservation, with the exception of the north-east angle, the roof of which has fallen in, not however from decay, but from the effects of a fire said to have occurred some 70 years ago. The basement storey consists of 104 small cells with arched ceilings, each cell being about 9 feet square. There is also a cell beneath each door, and one in each turret, making in all 112 cells. There are three doors leading to the upper storey, *viz.*, to the south-east and north; the latter is alone open now. As you enter in front and to the right and left, there are triple cloisters, supported on single, double, and quadruple pillars."—*From the Records of the Dehli Archæological Society*, 1850.

These buildings should by all means be inspected, being architecturally most important, if not beautiful.

Lastly may be mentioned certain works of the last Pathan period.

TIREE TOMB, CALLED THE TIR BOORJA.

These stand to the left of the road from Sufdur Jung's Tomb to the Kootub, close to the village of Mobarikpore, and are somewhat difficult of access for the equestrian. The names they bear are respectively Burra Khan, Chota Khan, and Kalee Khan. The largest, Burra Khan, is perhaps of the earlier

Pathan period, but the date of erection is unknown. They are all, more or less, in a state of decay, like hundreds of others which lie around neglected, and are built of red sand-stone and kharra-stone. They are hardly worthy of a visit, and a general idea of them may be obtained from the road.

MOBARIKPORE KOTLA.

The tomb of Mobarik Shah is in the village of Mobarikpore, close to the three tombs just alluded to. The date of erection is somewhere between A.D. 1540 and A.D. 1545, during the reign of Sher Shah. The building is in the Pathan style of architecture of kharra-stone.—*Harcourt.*

THE OLD HINDOO FORTS.

Arrived at the Kootub the visitor finds himself on the scene of one of India's oldest authentic periods. Here, according to the best authorities, was an extensive city of the *Sakas*, a tribe overthrown by Vikrumadit II. about A.D. 78. After this period it ceased to be a royal residence, though the iron pillar is determined by Cunningham to have been set up here by one of the *Goopta* Rajahs in A.D. 319. After this there appear to be no authentic notices of this—the original Dehli or Dilli—till it was rebuilt in the middle of the eighth century by Anung Pal, the first King of the Tamars, a Rajpoot tribe. It is supposed by Cunningham that Dehli soon after once more ceased to be a royal city, and fell into decay, to be again rebuilt by a Raja of the same dynasty and the same name, Anung Pal II., who was driven hither from Kanoj, his ancestral metropolis. However this be, certain it is that this Tamar dynasty ruled, at one time or other, over a considerable extent of territory between the Himalaya and the Vindhyan range; that their capital was in this neighbourhood, its citadel being the enclosure which now surrounds the

Kootub Minar; and that they were overthrown, about the middle of the twelfth century, by another Rajpoot house, the Chouhans. These latter added to the fortifications, and after a reign of about forty years, were in turn overthrown by the Musulmans under Shuhaboodeen Ghoree, and his general, Kootub-ood-deen, in 1193.

It was the last of this brief dynasty, Prithwee Raj, or Rai Pithora, who added to the Lallkot—the "Red Fort" round the sites of the Kootub Minar—the outwork to the N. E. which still bears his name. "From the north-western angle of the Lallkot," says Cunningham, "the lines of Rai Pithora's walls can be distinctly traced, running towards the north for about half a mile. From this point they turn to the south of east for one and a-half miles, then to the south for one mile, and lastly to the west and north-west for three-quarters of a mile, where they join the Lallkot, which being situated on higher ground forms a lofty citadel that completely commands the Fort of Rai Pithora."

The area of the two together is rather more than half that of the modern city of Shahjuhanabad. General Cunningham elsewhere furnishes the following additional particulars:

The Fort of Lallkot, built in A.D 1060, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles round. Its walls are lofty and massive; the ramparts averaging near 30 feet in thickness, the parapets being just one-half, or $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet. These walls have a general height of 60 feet above the bottom of the ditch, and to the extent of about half their original quantity are still in good preservation; having enormous bastions at all the salient angles. The long lines of curtains are relieved by numerous smaller towers well splayed out at the base, and still standing out to a height of 30 feet. In the western portion—which is the best preserved—the gateways, three in number, can be still made out; they appear to have been 17 feet wide and to have been protected by portcullises.

The fort of Rai Pithora appears to have been built after the incursions of the Musulmans had begun, as an additional protection to the city from the quarter whence such attacks were the most to be apprehended. Its circuit is nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles larger, but far less defensible than the older fort. It is believed

to have had ten gates in all, of which at least eight are still traceable. It possessed 27 Hindoo or Booddhist temples, hundreds of whose pillars have been worked into the Mosque of the conquerors and are still standing.

General Cunningham holds that the iron shaft that stands in the quadrangle of the Mosque north-west of the Kootub Minar is the oldest relic of the vanished Hindoo city. It is to be presumed, he says, that the pillar must have been erected in some conspicuous position, either within the old city or close to it. He is not unwilling to allow a similar antiquity to one or two of the stone columns now worked into the body of the great Mosque in which the pillar stands; but with these exceptions he concludes that nothing now exists here that is older than the tenth or eleventh century.

The total height of the pillar above ground is 22 feet, but its depth underground (formerly believed to be much greater) was ascertained, by one of General Cunningham's assistants, in 1872, to be only about 3 feet. Excavations showed that the pillar ended in a knob resting on eight strong bars secured to stone-blocks, somewhat in emulation of Nature's engineering as seen in the roots of a tree. It is believed to be of malleable iron, not cast, but built up by the welding together (by heat and hammering) of successive horizontal cylinders of metal. It slopes a little towards the top, where it is surmounted by a capital over three feet high formed of a series of bevelled rims one above the other. Its meagre history is found recorded in an inscription of six Sanscrit lines cut upon its western face, from which we find that it is claimed as the memorial of Rajah Dhava, or Bhava, considered by Prinsep to have reigned in the third or fourth century of the Christian era. An old prophecy, already current in the days of the Ghuznevide invader, alleged that the Hindoo Government should endure as long as the pillar stood. The remaining inscriptions on the Iron Pillar are unimportant; as are also the babbling traditions collected by travellers about its foot piercing the head of the world-serpent. When human fancies throw a light on

opinions that have affected the destinies of nations or the revolutions of empires it becomes interesting to examine them; but the nonsense of the ethnical nursery is of no more value than Little Bopeep or Old Daddy Longlegs. Harcourt attempts indeed to connect the tradition with the final fall of the Hindoo power, but it is considerably more ancient.

The only other Hindoo relics appear in the numerous pillars of the cloisters above referred to, which belonged to 27 temples taken down to construct the Mosque of the Moslem conquerors.

On the subject of this Mosque, Fergusson (*Hist. Archit. II.*, 646) thus remarks :—

"To understand these ruins it is necessary to bear in mind that all the pillars are Hindoo, and all the walls of Mahomedan architecture . . . . . . indeed it seems probable that the whole structure was rearranged in the form we now see by the Musulmans . . . . . . It is so purely Jain that it should perhaps have been noticed in speaking of that style; but as forming a part of the earliest Mosque in India it is now appropriately introduced in this place" [as will be seen more clearly from Cunningham the structure as now seen is Musulman compiled out of Hindoo or Jain, details]. "The pillars are of the same order as those used on Mount Aboo, but much richer and more elaborate . . . . . . In some instances the figures that were on the shafts of the pillars have been cut off, as offensive to Mahomedan strictness . . . . . . but on the less seen parts . . . . . . may still be detected."

The west side is formed by enormous arches (or rather sham arches) the largest of which is said by Fergusson to be 22 feet wide and 53 feet high. Behind this range, at the distance of 32 feet, are the foundations of another wall. "It seems probable that the Hindoo pillars between were the only portion proposed to be roofed; some of them are built into the back part of the great arches, and all above is quite plain and smooth without the least trace of any intention to construct a roof or vault of any sort." He goes on to show that the employment of Hindoo artizans ignorant of the constructive principles of the arch led to the pointed openings being made on the same

principles as those used in Hindoo domes. "They carried them up in horizontal courses as far as they could; and then closed them by long slabs meeting at the top." In ornamenting the face of this range they repeated the ornaments of the interior pillars.

The Mosque, of which plans on a scale of 100 feet to one inch are given both in Fergusson and in Cunningham, must, when finally completed, have been one of the grandest in the world. The west face of the arcade, of which the three arches now erected are those that have been restored by the British Government, was richly decorated; though the fact of the arches being only arched in appearance, and really no more than struts or brackets, betrays the employment of Hindoo artizans unacquainted with the constructive principle of the arch. Within, a sort of pillared hall, 135 feet long, is, by Cunningham, as well as by Fergusson, believed to have been the original Mosque covered by a roof supported by five rows of pillars. Over the opposite entrance is the date A H. 589, or 1193; and here, as elsewhere, occurs the name of the conqueror Kootub-ood-deen, the victorious Lieutenant of Mohamed Ghoree, who overthrew the kingdom of Rai Pithora in that year. Nothing can surpass the endless variety of the sculptures on the pillars inside and out of this Mosque, except it be their sharpness and delicacy. They were originally plastered over by their bigoted adapters, a circumstance to which perhaps they are indebted for some part of their preservation.

It has been determined by Cunningham that the quadrangle of which these pillars form the cloisters was intended by the Musulman conquerors as an entrance-court to the Mosque from the eastward.

During the reign of Ultumsh (A.D. 1211—36), vast additions were made to this Court; and the Kootub Minar was included in the south-east side of the enclosure, the whole front of the new and old structures combined being now 384 feet, with a breadth of 220 feet. The entire number of Hindoo pillars brought into use in these works, from first to last, is estimated at not less than six hundred.

A still further addition was made by Ala-ood-deen Khiljee (in A.D. 1300), in the form of an eastern annex, the same breadth as before, and about one-half the original depth.

THE KOOTUB.

This magnificent tower, the glory of Dehli, as the Taj is of Agra, is just over 238 feet high, sloping from the foot, from a diameter 47-3 feet to one of scarcely 9. The shaft is divided into five storeys, of which the first and last make up one-half, the second, third and fourth the other half, of the total height. The basement storey has 24 faces in the form of convex flutings alternately semi-circular and rectangular; in the second storey the projections are all circular; in the third all angular; the fourth is a plain cylinder; and the fifth storey is partly fluted and partly plain. So accurate are the proportions of the three lower storeys that the lines, except when intercepted, run up in one and the same straight line. The intercepting lines are those of balconies going the whole round of the tower, and girdling it with a belt of rich projecting pendentives in the purest style of the first Pathan period. The three lower storeys are also belted with bands of ornamental scroll-work containing Arabic inscriptions containing verses from the Koran and the name and praises of the conqueror by whose General the building was commenced. These three lower storeys are all of red stone, probably the original erection of Kootub-ood-deen Aibuk and his successor Ultumsh; the fourth, and to some extent the fifth storeys are of white marble, showing the restorations of Feeroz Shah Togluck, about 150 years after the original building was completed.

"The lower storey is 94 feet 11 inches in height, and the upper storey is 22 feet 4 inches, the two measurements together being just equal to half the height of the column; the length of the second storey is 50 feet 8½ inches, the third is 40 feet 9½ inches, the fourth is 25 feet 4 inches, or just one-half of the height of the second storey. Omitting, then, only the stump of the

old cupola, the column is just five diameters in height, and the lower storey is just two diameters in height. The circumference of the base is equal to the sum of the diameter of the six storeys of the building, the old cupola being considered as a sixth storey."—*General Cunningham.* In 1794 the pillar was over 242 feet high, but as the capital was injured, Fergusson considers that probably 20 feet might be added to make up the proper height. The minaret of the Mosque of Hussun at Cairo is known to be loftier than this pillar, "but as the Minar is an independent building, it has a far nobler appearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses its Egyptian rival, as indeed it does any building of its class."—*Fergusson.*

The name of this tower originates in a contraction of *Kootub-ood-deen-ka Minar.* The founder Kootub-ood-deen Aibuk was the lieutenant of the Ghorian conqueror of India, who long ruled here as Viceroy, and eventually as King or Emperor. At his death, after a brief period of disturbance, his favourite slave succeeded by the title of Shums-ood-deen Ultumsh, and the tower was completed in his reign, to serve as a *Muzeena* or Muezzin's station for the Mosque *Kootub-ool-Islam.* [*Kootub* or *Qutb*, according to scientific transliteration, means the "Polar Star."] Fergusson, after giving the measurements and justly extolling this noble tower, notes the influence of Hindoo practice in some features of the workmanship; and makes the valuable suggestion that they were suggested by the Jain buildings of the old city that were doubtless standing in abundance all round when the work was commenced. The occurrence of the names of Aibuk and his suzerain Bin Sam on the basement storey is justly regarded by General Cunningham as ground for concluding that the building was begun by the one during the lifetime of the other, which fixes the date of the foundation about the end of the twelfth century. The inscription on the second storey, coupled with the description of Abulfeda in A.D. 1300, shews that the original work was completed by Ultumsh, about twenty years after its commencement by his master and predecessor. As already indicated the completion of the tower, as now seen,

is due to the much-building Emperor Feeroz Shah about the third quarter of the fourteenth century.*

OTHER BUILDINGS.

Besides the eastern annex mentioned already, Ala-ood-deen (1295—1316) added to the Kootub Mosque the splendid southern gateway that still bears his name, and which Fergusson regards as displaying the (1st) Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection, when the Hindoo masons had learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters. This building is a square of 56¾ feet, exterior measurement, the work being 11 feet thick. On each side there is a lofty doorway with a pointed arch, not a true horseshoe, but deriving some of that character from the arrangement of the pilasters from which it springs. The whole façade is covered with delicate chiselling, and the inner walls are decorated with a diaper pattern "of unrivalled excellence." The square form of the ground plan changes into the octagon from which the roof dome rises in a manner "more simply elegant and appropriate than any with which" Mr. Fergusson "is acquainted;" namely by each corner forming a series of arched niches. The side-windows, of smaller size than the door, but similar shape, are closed with massive pierced marble screens, and the same material is freely used as a colouring variety to the stone which forms the substance of the building. The dome is a pure hemisphere. It may be doubted whether Indian Saracenic can show any specimen more beautiful, in a constructive point of view, than this. The dome has been found fault with as not high enough; but that depends on the point from which it is viewed. The side doors are much lower than those in front and rear; and this and similar expedients give the interior of this building its peculiar characteristic of symmetrical variety. The name of Ala-ood-deen will be found sculptured over the inner archways in the spandrels.

* *Vide infra*, p. 74.

The same monarch appears to have entertained the project of building a tower just double the size of the Kootub Minar on the opposite or northern side of the Mosque. It is believed that this work was begun in 1311 and stopped some time before the actual end of the reign, in consequence of a severe illness which disabled the King from public affairs and from which he never recovered. The idea of beating the splendid tower of his predecessors by dint of mere size does no credit to Ala-ood-deen's taste; and I do not know that the world has much cause for regret that this semi-insane project of a sickening despot was never carried into effect.

Shums-ood-deen Ultumsh, previously mentioned as the favourite slave who ruled after the death of his patron Kootub-ood-deen Aibuk, died in A.D. 1236, and his tomb, built by his son and daughter, is just at the north-west extremity of the Mosque. "Though small," says Fergusson, "it is one of the richest examples of Hindoo art applied to Mahometan purposes that old Delhi affords; and is extremely beautiful, though the builders still display a certain degree of inaptness in fitting the details to their new uses." Remarking that the effect of the building is at present marred by the want of a roof, he concludes his description by noting that it is the oldest tomb known to exist in India. Here again we note the use of white marble to relieve the red sandstone, and we seem to observe the dawning of the art which afterwards led to such beautiful results in the application of inlaid colour on buildings at Agra. General Cunningham notes that there is a western niche in this building as if it had been intended for use as a Mosque, and that the existence of a single stone of one of the circular cornices used in Hindoo domes shows that it probably was once roofed by an overlapping vault of that description.

On the western wall will be observed a recess, as in the corresponding part of a regular Mosque. This feature also exists in the tomb of Nizamoodeen and in others of even a later date. Another peculiarity of Ultumsh's tomb is that the arches are false, having no keystone or radiating voussoirs, a peculiarity that they share with the high entries to the Kootub-ul-Islam, the outer walls of which moreover have square openings to the

windows. All this shows dependence on Hindoo workmen. Fifty or sixty years later, when the first decorated Pathan school was at its height, the quasi-horse-shoe arch with a pointed apex was in full use, as seen at the Alai-Durwaza. The walls with which Ala-ood-deen flanked the fresh cloisters that he erected about the Kootub have similar openings, and they are also found in the remains known as "The Palace" of that monarch. It must have been in the long reign of that sumptuous parvenu Bulbun (*inf.*, p. 62) that the Pathans became architects; though little or nothing is left of his buildings which are believed to have been at Kiloghuree—near Homayoon's tomb.

UDHUM KHAN'S TOMB.

History relates that one Udhum Khan, appparently a bastard of the house of Timoor, was sent, early in the reign of Ukbur, to suppress an adherent of the house of Soor, by name Baz Bahadoor. This leader had a Hindoo wife famous for her beauty and accomplishments, and a poetess of celebrity then, whose words are still in men's mouths. Udhum Khan having put Baz to flight took possession of his chief town, Sarungpoor, and ordered the lady to receive him. Being unable to refuse the conqueror, she ordered him to be admitted, but when he reached her apartment he found that she had arrayed herself in silk and gems, had unveiled her face, swallowed poison, and was cold and dead. Shortly after returning to the Court at Agra from this exploit the victorious general quarrelled with the foster-father of the young Emperor, whom he stabbed in the Deewan-i-Am of Ukbur's Palace. It was evening, but the Prince was roused and came out of the private apartments behind. On the assassin coming towards him in what was perhaps an undecided attitude between menace and apology, Ukbur knocked him down with his own fist, and then directed that he should be hurled from the terrace on which they stood. Tradition relates that this was done thrice before the wretched man ceased to breathe. His mother

died of grief a month later, and the Emperor buried them both in this spot. The tomb where they were laid is grand in its stern simplicity, and almost the latest work of the third Pathan period; more indeed resembling the style of the second, already encountered at Feerozabad, and again to occur at Toghlukabad and the great tomb of Toghluk Shah.

This building—which is large, well raised, and in excellent preservation—is fitted up as a European dwelling-house. Not far off, to the south-west, is the "Metcalfe House," a substantial and still more commodious dwelling, built round another mediæval sepulchre.

Before leaving the Kootub a word must be said for the finial designed for the tower in 1826 by Major Smith. It is certainly not in harmony with the rest of the building, but neither do the parts of the building harmonize with each other; the stern unadorned cylinders of Sultan Feeroz being out of keeping with the barbaric richness of the sloping storeys of red stone on which they stand. The tower sadly requires some termination, its present flat top is suggestive of nothing so much as a chimney-top. Even poor Smith's design would be an improvement; but it ought not be difficult to put up a dome on four arches of true Pathan taste that would form an appropriate crown to the work. Moreover, a visitor ascending to the summit ought to have some shade and shelter when he gets there.

Captain Harcourt advises us to go to the Mausoleum of Sooltan Garee on the morning of the last day: and gives the following description of the building:

This lies to the west of the Kootub, some four miles off the road lying through Mahsoodpore, the Mausoleum being in the village of Mullickpore Koyee, which is now deserted; the wells in the neighbourhood being to this day prefectly dry. Sooltan Garee was the son of the Emperor Shums-ood-deen Ultumsh, who reigned from A. D. 1211 to A. D. 1236. The building is one of much interest and worthy of visit; it is principally composed of marble.

The chief interest is architectural, the building being an example of the first Pathan period.

TOGHLUKABAD.

Turning eastward, the fine ruins of Toghlukabad will be found about three miles from the Kootub Bungalow. This almost cyclopean group of buildings, recalling one of the Painter Martin's grand architectural dreams, was built early in the fourteenth century by Toghluk Ghazee Khan, a successful military adventurer, who overthrew the house of Khiljee and ascended the imperial throne at that epoch. The following animated description by General Cunningham contains almost all that need be said upon the present condition of his Castle:—

"The Fort of Toghlukabad may be described with tolerable accuracy as a half-hexagon in shape, with three faces of rather more than three-quarters of a mile in length each, and a base of one mile and a-half, the whole circuit being only one furlong less than four miles. The Fort stands on a rocky height, and is built of massive blocks of stone, so large and heavy that they must have been quarried on the spot. The largest stone which I observed measured fourteen feet in length by two feet two inches and one foot ten inches in breadth and thickness, and must have weighed rather more than six tons. The short faces to the north-west and east are protected by a deep ditch, and the long face to the south by a large sheet of water, which is held up by an embankment at the south-east corner. On this side the rock is scarped, and above it the main walls rise to a mean height of forty feet, with a parapet of seven feet, behind which rises another wall of fifteen feet, the whole height above the low ground being upwards of nineteen feet. In the south-west angle is the citadel, which occupies about one-sixth of the area of the Fort, and contains the ruins of an extensive palace. The ramparts are raised as usual on a line of domed rooms, which rarely communicate with each other, and which no doubt formed the quarters of the troops that garrisoned the Fort. The walls slope rapidly inwards, even as much as those of Egyptian buildings. The rampart walls are pierced with loop-holes, which serve also to give light and air to the soldiers'

quarters. The parapets are pierced with low sloping loopholes, which command the foot of the wall, and are crowned with a line of rude battlements of solid stone, which are also provided with loopholes. The walls are built of large plainly dressed stones, and there is no ornament of any kind; but the vast size, the great strength, and the visible solidity of the whole give to Togluckabad an air of stern and massive grandeur that is both striking and impressive. The Fort of Togluckabad has thirteen gates, and there are three inner gates to the citadel; it contains seven tanks of water besides the ruins of several large buildings, as the Jumma Musjid and the Boorj Munder. The upper part of the Fort is full of ruined houses, but the lower part appears as if it had never been fully inhabited."

It was commenced by the Emperor Toghluck Shah about A.D. 1321, and was finished—at any rate, as much finished as it is now—by A.D. 1323. It may be added that the area is about equal to that of Shahjuhanabad, and that the interior is an open plain five miles in circumference; there is little to see within besides a well, cut in the solid rock to a depth of about 80 feet, and the ruins of the founder's Palace. He was killed by an accident* supposed to have been contrived by his son, and buried in a striking situation about 300 yards in front of the principal gate of his unfinished city, of which indeed the tomb with its fortress may be said to form a sort of outwork. The work appears according to Tartar custom to have been planned and perhaps constructed in the lifetime of the person for whom it was intended. The following are Mr. Fergusson's remarks on this grand relic of irresponsible power:—"When the stern old warrior Toghluck Shah (1321) founded the new Delhi, which still bears his name, he built himself a tomb, not in a garden as was usually the case, but in a strongly fortified citadel in the middle of an artificial lake. The sloping walls and almost Egyptian solidity of this Mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a

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* *Vide supra*, p. 30; *infra*, p. 64; and Appendix C.

picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast to the elegant and luxurious garden tombs of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded."

It is noted by Cunningham that the same Emperor built himself another tomb in something of a similar style in the Fort of Mooltan, but considerably larger, which he afterwards gave to a holy man of the day. The tomb at Dehli is moreover of better materials than its precursor, being entirely of stone finely ornamented with white marble. It is surrounded by a pentagonal outwork, connected with the fortress by a causeway 600 feet long, supported on 27 arches. The tomb itself is a square of 61½ feet exteriorly, the walls being 21½ feet thick, and 38½ feet high, with a slope of 7½ feet from top to bottom. The total height to the top of the domed roof is 70 feet, and the pinnacle is 10 feet more, and each of the four sides has a lofty doorway with a pointed arch, fretted on the outer edge. The decorations are produced by the admixture of white marble above referred to, and are probably the precursors of the inlayings which afterwards came to form such an important feature of Hindoostanee architecture. Within are three tombs said to be those of the old King, his wife, and his son and successor; the latter is believed to contain the singular collection of vouchers for pardon which the pious care of the good Emperor Feeroz Shah who succeeded him, provided for the dead hand to pick up and arise with on the day of judgment. Here is an account of the transaction taken from the words of Feeroz himself:—

"I have taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late Lord; and having pensioned and provided for them, and for those who had been maimed by order of the late Sultan, have caused them to execute deeds, declaring their satisfaction, duly witnessed; these being placed in a chest have been deposited at the head of the tomb of the said Sultan in the hope that God of his infinite mercy will take compassion on my departed friend."

The Emperor thus accredited to the Mercy-seat of Divine Omnipotence was probably the maddest monster of cruelty that

ever sat on a throne. He has earned an infamous immortality as the *Khoonee Sultan*, or "Bloody Lord," by which title he is still known in popular tradition. A man may be stronger than the people for a time, but the people never dies.* The small Fort of *Adilabad*, near the south-east corner of Toghluckabad, is the only complete building of this tyrant, who died in 1351. His Fort of *Juhanpuna*, now a ruin, must be mentioned more in detail.

JUHANPUNA.

According to Captain Harcourt's Diary our pilgrimage is now at an end; but before leaving the neighbourhood of the Kootub, the lover of antiquity may find work for another pleasant day. North-east of the Kootub ground will be found the remains of Mohamed Togluck's fortification, known by the name *Juhanpuna*, or "world's asylum," a very alluring title, probably not fulfilled in the experience of the population. The suburbs of old Dehli in this direction having been plundered during incursions of Mogul invaders during the reign of Ala-ood-deen, their unprotected state is regarded by Cunningham, as having justified the vast outlay which their fortification involved. The north-west wall is stated by the same authority to be 1½ mile long, the east wall ½, the south 2 miles; the whole length of the *enceinte* being five miles, or somewhat more than the circuit of Rai Pithora's Fort at the Kootub. There were, it is recorded, thirteen gates, six to the north and seven to the south. A considerable amount of wall is still standing in the last-named direction.

SEEREE.

Sultan Ala-ood-deen founded the city of Seeree to the north-east of the Kootub, as it were an off-shoot of the old Dilli. In

* *Vide infra*, Historical Note.

this reign the Moguls under Junghiz Khan invaded India in A.D. 1303, and advanced on Ala-ood-deen. The latter intrenched himself apparently at Seeree (now Shahpore,) and on the sudden retreat of the Moguls, caused a palace to be built on the spot where his camp had been. "On this side," says General Cunningham, "the suburbs of the old Dilli extended for a considerable distance. We know also that they were without walls, because the Moguls plundered them during their stay, and because they were afterwards enclosed by Muhummad Togluck, when they received the separate name of Jehan Punna.* Immediately in front of these suburbs, and facing towards the enemy, is the old ruined Fort of Shahpore, and inside the west half of this Fort there still exist the remains of a very extensive palace. This palace I believe to be the celebrated Kasr-Hazar-Situn, or palace of the thousand pillars, which Ala-ood-deen built on the spot where he had intrenched himself. This Palace was called Hazar Minar, or thousand minarets." "Siri," adds General Cunningham, "cannot be identified with the citadel that surrounds the Kootub Minar, for the walls of Siri were pulled down and the material removed by Shir Shah (between A.D. 1540 and 1545), while the walls of the Kootub Minar citadel are still standing. And further, it seems almost certain that Shahpore must be Siri, because of its vicinity to the new site of Shir Shah's Fort, for it is hardly possible to believe that the King would have brought his building stones from the Kootub Minar, a distance of seven miles, when he could have obtained them from Shahpore, which is only half the distance. That he did obtain his materials from the latter place, and not from the former, may be regarded as almost certain, for the very sufficient reason that the walls of Shahpore have actually been removed, while those of the Kootub citadel are still standing."

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* Ibn Batuta states that Mohamed intended to join Dehli, Seeree, Juhanpuna, and Toghluckabad in one fortification, but was deterred by the cost. This was before he removed all the inhabitants to the Deccan.

This was the Dehli of Tamerlane, described in the memoirs of that monarch known as the *Toozak-i-Timoor;* and consisted of three conjoined cities, like Westminster, London, and the Borough. The following quaint account of the place is given by the invader:—

"When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Seeree is a round city; its buildings are lofty, surrounded by strong fortifications of stone and brick; old Dehli has a similar fort, but larger. From one to another—a considerable distance—runs a strong wall built of stone and cement, the part called Juhanpuna is in the centre of the inhabited area. The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates, of which Juhanpuna has thirteen, Seeree seven, and old Dehli ten."—[Abstracted from Elliot in *Dowson's History of India*, Vol. III.]

Seeree was destroyed by the Interrex Sher Shah, in order that the materials might be worked into structures of his own.

LOCALITIES OF THE SIEGE.

Having examined all the chief antiquarian objects for which Dehli is renowned, the visitor may still have time to go over the scenes of later events. The taking of Dehli in 1857 was perhaps a greater feat of arms than many which are more talked of; and is one that, without disparagement to native valour, may be truly said to have been impossible except between Europeans and Asiatics. Here was an *enceinte* of more than five miles, with curtains, bastions, gates, ditch, counterscarp, and glacis, all designed and partly carried out by British Engineers, with a strong arsenal and a complete park of heavy guns, taken by a handful of men (of whom indeed a portion were natives) at the first serious assault. The performances of Alexander and Xenophon are outdone by this marvellous achievement; and it is but natural that the visitor should linger over the places that testify of it, even with more interest because of its nearness

to his own time, and in many cases, because of his own proper patriotism.

It will be remembered that in the description of the City (p. 18) the circuit of the walls was stated to be five and a-half miles. Nuwab Shah Nuwaz Khan gives the exact extent, in *Illahee* yards of 33 inches:—

"The surrounding wall of the city was constructed by Shah Juhan, the Emperor, in the 24th year of his reign (A.D. 1652), but the wall, being of rubble, began to crumble in the rainy season. The Emperor then began a more solid wall with better materials, which, when thus constructed, was 6,610 yards in length, 4 in breadth, and 9 in height. The total cost of the two walls is estimated to have been five lakhs of rupees."*

In the anarchy that followed the absence, and finally, the death of the next Emperor, Aurungzeb, these walls probably received but little attention; and in 1804, when Holkar was at Muttra, confronting the victorious Lake in his cantonments at Agra, the defences of Dehli were nothing but "dilapidated works and ruinous ramparts." But when Holkar, leaving his camp standing, made a rush upon Dehli, thinking to carry off the Emperor by a *coup de main*, there were those within, led by David Ochterlony, who made a very different defence of bad walls to what was made of the same walls in their restored condition half a century later. The garrison was too small to allow of any reliefs, and they had to take their meals, each man at his post, upon the battlements: but the besieging force of 20,000 men, with one hundred pieces of cannon, beleaguered them in vain for nine whole days, after which the baffled tiger withdrew from his unsuccessful spring. The walls were afterwards repaired, and the complete restoration of the masonry had only been brought to a conclusion a few months before the outbreak of 11th May 1857. Early on the morning of that day the revolted troopers of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who had escaped chastisement at Meerut, trotted across the bridge of boats,

* Keene's Mogul Empire.

and entered the city. The whole of the garrison, being natives, joined them, and the work of villany began. Simon Fraser, the Resident, Captain Douglas, Commanding the Palace Guard, with the Chaplain and his daughter, were killed at the main gate of the citadel; Colonel Ripley and other Officers of the 74th N. I. were pistolled in front of their own men, standing passive; the Magazine was invested; and the Europeans, men, women, children, chased over the walls of the city, to be shot down, or driven to the temporary shelter of the Flag Staff Tower, as might be their fate. The explosion of the Magazine by Willoughby and Forrest, and the escape of many of the defenders, who, fording the broad Jumna, joined the main stream of refugees on the other side, and in many instances got off safely to Meerut, are events well-known and hardly belonging to our subject.

This was the "innings" of the powers of evil; and no one knows the full extent of the horrors that ensued in the long peaceful City of the Moghul. But the tables were soon to be turned. Victorious at *Budlee-kee-Surai*, the small avenging force found themselves on the evening of the 8th June face to face with all that the tourist of today sees basking in the beautiful winter sunshine from Hindoo Rao's house. With their left on the river and their right on Kishungunj and the Subzee Mundee gardens, the assailants were confronted by the northern angle of the fortifications, hardly extending from the Water Bastion to the Cabul Gate; and no investment possible. Here, during the heat of June, and the rotting reek of the ensuing monsoon, constantly reinforced by driblets (sent by the wise and strong rulers of the Punjab) barely replacing the loss of sickness and of four-and-twenty desperate sorties by the besieged, did our handful of heroes maintain their perilous guard. At the time of the assault there were 2,500 men sick.

At length arrived John Lawrence's last remnant of troops, and—ten thousand in one—the peerless John Nicholson. "Now or never" was the motto brought down from his Chief by the great frontier soldier; and the whole force, inspired by the situation, at once prepared for their momentous undertaking. It

was indeed now or never. The tension of the situation was become extreme, not only in the Punjab, but in the whole Peninsula; and it was in the hands of less than 7,000 men of all arms to turn the doubtful scale one way or the other.

From the 8th to the 13th September the gunners of England beat upon the northern walls incessantly. Night and day went on the work of destruction from fifty guns in position. In the Koodseea garden on the river bank Tombs had a battery of ten mortars; another battery under Scott being placed at the Custom-house. Ten guns in front played on the Moree and Cashmeer Bastions from a distance of 700 yards under the able command of Major Brind. Other batteries were roaring from the Residency and from Hindoo Rao's house on the top of the ridge. On the evening of the 13th the Engineer Officers reported two practicable breaches, one at the Cashmere Bastion, the other by the Water Gate; these stormed and the Cashmere Gate held by a third column, due provision being made for support on the rear and right flank, and all the columns might meet victorious at the barbican of the Palace within. As the day broke on the following morning, the incessant roar of the past week came to a sudden and ominous pause; the 60th Rifles, according to previous arrangement, sprang out with a cheer to cover the advance, and Salkeld and Home of the Bengal Engineers stepped forward with Non-Commissioned Officers, bugler, powder-carriers, to blow in the Cashmere Gate. The scene that followed is thus described by Colonel Medley, R.E., an eye-witness. "Followed by the storming party, 150 strong, Home and his party reached the outer gate almost unseen. With difficulty they crossed the ditch, and having laid their bags retired unharmed. It was now Salkeld's turn. He also advanced with four other bags of powder and lighted portfire, but the enemy had seen the smallness of the party and the object of their approach. A deadly fire was poured upon the little band from the open wicket not ten feet distant. Salkeld laid his bags, but was shot through the arm and leg, and fell back on the bridge, *handing the portfire to Sergeant Burgess, bidding him*

light the fuse. Burgess was instantly shot dead in the attempt. Sergeant Carmichael then advanced, took up the portfire, and succeeded in the attempt, but immediately fell mortally wounded. Sergeant Smith, seeing him fall, advanced at a run, but finding that the fuse was already burning threw himself into the ditch. . . . . In another moment a terrific explosion shattered the massive gate, the bugle sounded the advance, and then with a loud cheer the storming party was in the gateway, and in a few minutes more the Cashmere Gate and Main Guard were once more in our hands."

It may be doubted whether a finer display of soldiership was ever made than that recorded in the simple lines above italicised. All the survivors were recommended for the Victoria Cross, but Salkeld died of his wounds; and it is melancholy to add that Home, after coming scatheless out of that ordeal, met his death in "a petty fortress" a few weeks later.

The progress of the assault is matter of military history. The saddest interest that attaches to it is connected with the fate of General Nicholson, of whom the Punjab Government recorded that but for him Delhi would not have fallen. As bold in action as in council this born-soldier emerging from a *cutcherry* achieved immortality in dying at the age of 35. After leading his column over the breach by the side of the Cashmere Gate he reformed his men (detachments from the 75th, the 1st Fusiliers,* and the 2nd Punjabees) by the Main Guard. Turning to the right by the narrow lane behind the city-walls, Nicholson next proceeded to open a way parallel with the ramparts, and had already captured the Cabool Gate. In proceeding towards the Burn bastion a check was experienced from a breastwork and one gun on the ramparts; and it was in waving on the men against this obstacle, his fine form in advance, conspicuously displayed to the fire of countless enfilading muskets from the windows that lined the lane, that he received his mortal wound and was borne to the rear. Uttering words of valorous counsel from his pallet the hero died;

* Subsequently the 101st R. B. F.

but his spirit lived among the force in all ranks; and on the fifth day the whole vast area of the city was in the hands of Sir Archdale Wilson.* The trial and exile of the King and the peaceable reorganisation of civil order followed shortly; and there is little now to remind the visitor of those brave days, save the monument of Nicholson, and the memorial column, 110 feet in height, which stands on a commanding point of the Ridge, upon the site once occupied by one of the breaching Batteries. This monument commemorates the deeds of the gallant captors of Dehli, and was erected by the subscriptions of the survivors, supplemented by aid from the Government. The total cost is stated by Harcourt to have come to 22,400 rupees. There is a winding stair within, and a fine view from the top of all the scenes of the siege.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

The note appended to the *Agra Guide* gives historical memoranda regarding those Mogul rulers with whom the buildings at Agra are chiefly connected. In the present chapter will be found a similar account of their Pathan predecessors to whose memory the neighbourhood of Dehli has so many splendid monuments.

We have already seen that there is a probability of some remains near the Kootub dating from a period antecedent by a few years to the Christian Era. The edicts of Asoka indeed, on Feeroz Shah's *Lat*, are older still, but this pillar (*vide supra*, p. 23) does not appear to have been originally erected in the Dehli district; and the possible settlement of the Pandoo brothers at Indraprustha has left no mark behind.

What little is known of the early Hindoo dynasties of Dehli will be found in the Archæologic Reports of General Cunningham so often drawn upon in the preceding pages. Their remains are—

* The total loss in this attack was no less than 66 officers and 1,100 men.

the Iron Pillar, the columns of the great Mosque, and the fortifications of Lalkot and the adjacent works.

The authentic history of Dehli can hardly be said to begin before the end of the twelfth century from Christ, when Shahab-ood-deen Ghoree, otherwise known as Moohumud Bin Sam, was sent against the then ruling Chouhans of Northern India. In 1193 the Moohumudans were routed by Pirthee Raj—or Rai Pithora—on the plain of Thunesur, but two years later they returned with irresistible force, and overthew the Rajpoots near the same ground. Bin Sam left a favorite follower, Kootub-ood-deen Aibuk, to administer the affairs of Hindoostan, but returned in person shortly after, leaving his brother as sole monarch at Ghuznee. He died in a campaign in the Punjab in 1206, and Kootub-ood-deen succeeded to the throne of Dehli. It was in the reign of this monarch that the Kootub Minar was commenced, and was adorned with a scroll commemorative of his deceased patron. This is the beginning of what has been called "The Slave Dynasty," in reference to the fact that these monarchs were often succeeded by favorite slaves. The most famous of them are:—

I.—Shums-ood-deen Ultumsh, 1211—1236.

In his reign the Kootub Minar was first completed; he also built the earlier part of the *Bhootkhanna*, or great pillared cloisters of the Kootub Mosque—A.D. 1220—and the college attached to which is the building where he himself was afterwards buried.

II.—After a variety of short reigns, mostly ending in the assassination of the sovereign by some profligate courtier, the throne was ascended in 1246 by Nasir-ood-deen. This monarch was little better than a recluse; but he had the good sense to leave the conduct of affairs to an able Minister, and died in his bed without heirs, after a tranquil reign of twenty years.

III.—The minister, Bulbun, succeeded without a contest, A.D. 1265-6. He had originally been one of the band of Toork slaves known as "The Forty," who had become enormously powerful under the weak administrations that had long prevailed. The historian Burnee, who had conversed with the contemporaries of

this ruler, relates that, for the twenty-two years that Bulbun reigned, he maintained the dignity of his throne in unsurpassable splendour, and was never seen by his most confidential attendants otherwise than in full dress! "He never allowed any one to joke in his presence, nor did he permit any one in his court to laugh." "No one ever dared to recommend for employment any person of low position or extraction." This magnificent *parvenu* seems really to have been an efficient ruler; he made some startling examples amongst his own friends who had misconducted themselves, and he put the army on so sound a footing that Bengal was subdued and the Mogul invasion rolled back. Eventually, however, he lost his favourite son in battle against the Moguls, who at the same time took prisoner the Poet Khoosroo (*vide supra*, p. 30) who was not liberated till his friends had paid a heavy ransom for him. Bulbun died of a broken heart, and was succeeded by his grandson Kai Kobad in A.D. 1286-7.

IV.—The dissolute habits of this monarch soon led to his being seized by paralysis, in which state he was kicked to death in his bed by a dissatisfied slave, and the Slave dynasty brought to an end.

The next line of Dehli Kings were a Pathan race, called Khiljee; the first of whom, Julal-ood-deen, ascended the throne in 1289. He was a mild ruler, and the country suffered much, both from internal broils and from Mogul irruptions during his reign. He eventually lost the confidence of his subjects and kindred, and was murdered in open day by his nephew and son-in-law Ala-ood-deen.

Ala-ood-deen Khiljee became King in 1296. In his reign the famous Ouleeah adventurer Nizam-ood-deen (*supra*, p. 29) came to India. The reign lasted 20 years, and was at first distinguished by great activity in the way of architecture. We learn from the prose works of Khoosroo that the Mosque at the Kootub was completed by building beyond the old gates and courts a fourth [court] with high pillars, and upon the surface of the stones were engraved verses of the Koran (*vide supra*, p. 47). Alaood-deen also undertook to outstrip the lofty *Muzeena* of the

Mosque Kootub Minar, intending, it is said, to double all the proportions. This is the unfinished basement described above (p. 48). He demolished the remains of Hindoo temples that his predecessors had spared, and sprinkled the walls of the outer works with the blood of "some thousands of goat-bearded Moghuls," whom he "sacrificed" for the purpose. He appears to have been a blunt soldier, a little disposed to pride himself on his ignorance of law and learning, but having a keen sense of the dangers of Mogul invasion and of the necessity of guarding against it. It was with this object that he built the Fort of Seeree (*supra*, p. 55) and fortified other places on the road of the invaders, which generally led by Mooltan, Debalpoor, and Lahore. His principal commander was Ghazee Malik, who afterwards became King under the title of Mohumud Toghluk. The King, however, had more confidence in a companion of his profligacy called Malik Naib Kafoor; and he appears to have paid the price of his carelessness by losing his life during an attack of dropsy, in which his mind failed, until his sufferings were put an end to by the unworthy favourite. Malik Kafoor tried to carry on the Government, but he was in his turn assassinated, and after a period of very great confusion, the sceptre fell into the hands of Ghazee Malik Ghayas-ood-deen, Mohumud Tóghluk, who ascended the throne in the palace at Seeree in 1320 A.D. His brief administration was what might have been expected from his apprenticeship, that of an honest and able soldier, but he perished by the connivance of his son Joonah Khan (*supra*, p. 30) having only ruled five years.

Joonah assumed the throne in his father's Fort of Toghlukabad (*supra*, p. 52) by the title of Mohumud-ibn-Toghluk Shah. This is the prince described above by his more popular title of "Bloody Lord," and he is chiefly remarkable as a combination of literature without religion, and abundant accomplishments and ability with no tincture of the humanity that usually accompanies such gifts. Burnee, who knew him well, records some of his excusatory yet menacing language. Famine fell on Dehli, which the King accordingly deserted, driving the population to Deogir, the same

place as what was hereafter known as Doulutabad, near Ellora, in what is now the Nizam's country.

He then tried to re-populate Dehli from places in the neighbourhood. By this and other wilful projects he raised general discontent which he tried to put down with unexampled violence. "I have no pleasure," he said, "in revolts, though people will say 'tis my own conduct caused them. I am not to be turned from my system of punishment either by revolts or reasonings . . . I visit with chastisement upon presumption of rebellious designs, and I punish with death the most trifling acts of contumacy. And this I will do until I die." This bewildered tyrant contemplated abdication later in his reign. "I am angry with my subjects," he told Burnee in a conversation shortly before the end of his reign; "no treatment of mine does any good. My remedy is the sword . . . so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more I chastise the more they rebel." Yet he was never personally molested and died a natural death, in the full exercise of the power he had so long abused, to be peacefully succeeded by his cousin in 1350.

Feeroz Shah, one of the best men of that dark time, was in Sindh when the late King expired. After capturing an imbecile opponent he proceeded to Dehli, where he occupied a long reign in the most praise-worthy efforts to protect his people and to give them employment in beautifying the adjacent cities and in restoring the monuments of his predecessors. In the modest and pious sketch of his own exploits which he left behind him, this beneficient ruler expressly states that he gave the restoration of these buildings the priority over his own works, an instance of self-denial rare indeed among Asiatic rulers. He introduced their names into the public Litanies at the Mosques, and carried his zeal for the spiritual welfare of his own patron and immediate predecessor so far as to provide him in his grave with vouchers for the Great Audit. A list of his various works would be tedious, especially as many of them have ceased to exist. Most of those which are still extant are referred to in the preceding pages, and others of a less interesting character lie scattered between

Nizam-ood-deen's tomb and the neighbourhood of the Kootub, such as the *Jamaat Khana** Mosque, and the tank and tomb at *Houz Khas.*

In the contemporary narrative of Alif it is stated that the city of Feeroz contained eighteen townships, and that from Indurput to the Khoosk Shikar on the ridge, a distance of five kos, all was built on. The city contained eight public Mosques and one private Chapel, and the public Mosques accommodated each, on an average, 10,000 worshippers. If this is to be taken as an index of the population, it will be seen that the city must, in its palmiest days, have contained at least double the population estimated by Cunningham, or say, 350,000 souls.

In the anarchy that ensued upon the abdication of Feeroz occurred the most terrible of all the Mogul incursions, that of Timoor the Lame, whose description of the three cities of old Dehli has already been extracted (*supra*, p. 56). He also describes in his memoirs the Houz (water-tomb) of that monarch, and a Mosque with which he was so much pleased that the carried back the sons of the builders to erect a similar place of worship in Sumarkund.

This was at the end of the 14th century; and the history of Dehli from this time to the invasion and conquest of Hindoostan by Timoor's descendant, Babur, a century and a-quarter later, is of little archæological interest. The domains of the rulers of Dehli shrank to the dimensions of a private estate, and it was not till the rise of the Lodi dynasty (a brief Pathan race) that a dim crepuscular grandeur arose, which was illustrated by the third, or decorated order of Pathan Architecture. The finest specimen of the Lodi period is the tomb of Sikundur Shah, referred to in page 36 and that was perhaps not built by the Lodi Kings, but by their still more brief-termed successors the Pathans of the race of Soor. A true Lodi building exists at Roshun Chirag, the tomb of Behlol, who died in 1488. Some remains of his successor Sikundur are thought to have existed in the Agra Fort, but they cannot now be traced.

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* *Vide supra*, p. 30.

APPENDIX A.

THE ELEPHANT STATUES.

These sculptures, which had fallen into a fragmentary state, one having been rather clumsily restored, once stood outside what from the description was probably the Lahore Gate, and not the "Dehli Gate" or main barbican of the Palace. Bernier in 1663 saw them, and was told that they were the representation of two Chiefs of Chitor, Jaymul and Futta, who had been conquered and slain by Ukbur, and that this monarch put the statues up in admiration of their prowess. The riders are not now mounted. One of the elephants, indeed, seems to have totally disappeared, and the other stands in the public garden, with an inscription that does not connect it with the occasion of Chitor. But the "resolute riders" are to be found in the verandah of the museum, and, even in their decay, well sustain the epithet of Bernier. Two other mutilated *torsos*, on the same semi-colossal scale, are by them, and are supposed to have represented the Mahouts, or drivers, who guided the elephants in battle. Franklin (the author of *Shah Alum*), who visited Dehli in 1793, ascertained that these images had been removed by Aurungzeb, as savouring too much of idolatry. They were discovered about 1863, buried among some rubbish inside the Fort. General Cunningham, accepting Bernier's account of these figures, concludes that they were originally placed by Ukbur in front of the River Gate of the Agra Fort, and that they are mentioned in the Ayeen as "two elephants with their riders, at the Eastern Gate" where they stood until removed by his grandson to adorn the new Palace at Dehli. He describes them as follows:—

"The statues of Jaymal and Patta are simply valuable as works of art, as they are, perhaps, the only portrait statues that

have been erected in India for many centuries. They are made of red sandstone, and are of life size, while the huge elephants on which they sit are of black marble, and the housings are decorated with white and yellow marbles."

They were probably moved to Dehli from Agra in the time of Shahjuhan, but it is not so clear how and when they were first erected.

Bernier's, says General Cunningham, is the first mention of these statues. What then is to be made of this passage in Finch's description of the Agra Fort, with Purchas' marginal note?—

"To the castle are four gates, one to the north, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, another west to the *Bazar*, called the *Cicherry* Gate, within which, over against the great gate, is the *Cazi*, his seat of Chief Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three mortars very great (some three foot in the bore and fifteen long) of cast brasse . . . . Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, over which are two *Rajaws* in stone,* who were slain in the King's Durbar before the King's eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are here placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a fair street, with houses and munition all along in both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the King's Durbar, always chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the south, called *Acabar Drowaza*. . . . . . .

"The fourth gate is to the river, called the *Dersane*, leading into a fair Court extending along the river, in which the King looks forth every morning at sun-rising, which he salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their *Tessillam*.† Right under the

* It is said that they were two brothers, Rajpoots, tutors to a Prince; their nephew, whom the King demanded of them. They refused, and were committed; but drew on the officers, slew twelve, and at last, by multitudes oppressing, were slain; and here have elephants of stone, and themselves figured.—*Purchas' note.*

† A posture of humiliation.—*Purchas.*

place where he looks out, is a kind of scaffold, whereon his Nobles stand, but the *Addees* with others await below in the Court. Here also every noone he looketh forth to behold *Tamashah*, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with Leopards; which is a custom on every day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday, on the contrary, is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts, and justiced men, the King judging and seeing execution. To returne to the third gate, within it you enter into a spacious Court with *Atrecanna's* round-about-like shops and open halls, wherein his Captains, according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle, into a more inward Court, within which none but the King's *Addees*, and men of sort are admitted, under paine of smacking by the Porters' Cudgels, which lay on loud without respect of persons."*—*Purchas*, *B. IV*, *C.* 4, *S. VI*, p. 439.

[The apparent confusion in this account will be got rid of if we understand the gates originally called 1st and 2nd to have been regarded as one, *a double*, gate; as in fact is still the case. The 3rd gate is then seen to have been rightly called "the 2nd," and this was the entrance to the street since known as *Meena Bazar*, which, previous to British Military precautions, formed the approach to the *Am-Khas* and the rest of the Palace. The "3rd" gate is the gate leading to the great Court of the Armoury, or *Am-Khas;* and the 4th is the now disused water-gate, which does not open upon the strand, but faces eastward, and had a bit of *glasis* extended before it, before the outer wall and the moat were added on the river-face, probably in the time of Aurungzeb, or late in the reign of his predecessor. The statues, therefore, were at the entrance, not of the Fort but of the Palace, and were distinctly seen by Finch, if not by Hawkins.

The "Addees" are *Uhdees*, "the single men," a sort of gentlemen-cadets waiting for their commissions, and not required

* This is the *Am-Khas*, divided, it would seem in those days into an outer and inner Court. Hawkins speaks with pride of his being called within the "red rail."

to do sentry or fatigue-duty. There was a corresponding class in the old French *Maison du Roy*, known as *Exempts*, whence we have to this day in England the royal "*Exons* of the guard." The person of the sovereign was the post of these men-at-arms; and parades of them took place in the *Am-Khas* of Agra and Delhi.]

Finch himself, it is true, says nothing about elephants; but he mentions Rajas, not defenders of Chitor, but turbulent men slain in Durbar (as in the later story of Umur Singh). The allusion probably is to the three sons of Ukhiraj, son of Ukbur's brother-in-law Rajah Bhugwan Dass of Jaipoor, killed in a fight arising out of a tumult caused by themselves in the Palace (*Memoirs of Juhangeer*, p. 12, quoted by Prof. Blochmann, *Cal. Rev.*, CIX, 1331). And Purchas, who died in 1628, must evidently have had good authority for saying that the Rajas were on elephants. But by no possibility can the situation ascribed to them be understood as "in front of the river gate." The river gate was evidently the *Dersane Drowaza*, in front of which was the area in which beast-fights and executions took place; but the gate of the elephant-statues was apparently the *Hutheea-Pool*, or inner entrance to the Palace, the two gates first mentioned being the two-fold gates of the great barbican still standing, by which one enters from the Tripolya. As to Bernier, his information was later than Finch's by half a century; and as he was wrong in calling Jaymul the Raja of Chitor, he may have equally been misled in supposing that Chitor and the statues had any connection whatever. It is curious that the Rajpoot bards are silent on the subject. The Ukburnama is also silent as to the statues, though it describes the deaths of Patta (or Futta) and Jaymul. The name of the gate is sufficient to show where the elephants were placed; over or flanking the entrance to the Palace in the Fort which bears that name. But *when* they were erected or *whom* they commemorate cannot be regarded as conclusively settled. They are mentioned by de Laet (whose *India Vera* was published in 1631) in the following terms:—

"This was a very great victory; and in memory of it, the

King caused two elephants to be carved, Tyimul Pattha sitting on one, and one of his chief generals on the other; and caused them to be placed one on each side of the Fort at Agra."

I may add that there is internal evidence that de Laet (who wrote in Europe) got some of his information from Finch, as will be plain to any one who will compare the descriptions by the two writers, especially of Futtehpoor-Seekree, and of the "Dehli" of that day—*Poorana Killa.*

It is easy, in the Dutch writers—to us at least unphonetic spelling—to see that he has made Jaymal and Futtah into one person; they are still spoken of without the copula in popular idiom, sounding, to an inexperienced ear, like one word.

It may perhaps be suspected from these extracts that Purchas and Finch, the earliest authorities to whom the mention of these statues has been traced, are, after all, right in their account of the origin of the mysterious monuments. If so, it may be that the sculptures were ordered by Juhangeer in a freak of remorse for the massacre of his kinsmen, and that other names were given them afterwards to divert attention from the scandal by connecting them with the glorious victory of Chitor.

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APPENDIX B.

THE BRINGING OF THE PILLARS.

Removal of the Minara-i-Zarin.—" Khaizrabad is ninety kos from Dehli, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Dehli, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the Cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and ram skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 maunds of grain, and the least of them 2,000 maunds.

The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kushk with infinite labour and skill."

Account of the raising of the obelisk.—"At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Murkhan. When the pillar was brought to the Palace a building was commenced for its reception, near the Jami Masjid, and the most skilful architects were employed. It was constructed of stone and chunam, and consisted of several stages or steps (poshish). When a step was finished, the column was raised on to it, another step was then built, and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height.

"On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a gaz. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone before spoken of was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two Capitals (do-saz-i-án), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi Kalas. The height of the obelisk was thirty-two gaz; eight gaz was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hind characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be

able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan King named Sultan Firoz, &c., &c."

Erection of the other obelisk in the Kushk Shikar.—"This obelisk stood in the vicinity of the town of Meerut, in the Doab, and was somewhat smaller than the *Minara-i-zarin.* This also was removed by Sultan Firoz, with similar skill and labour, and was re-erected on a hill in the *Kushk Shikar* (amid great feasting and rejoicing). After the erection of the pillar a large town sprang up, and the Khans and Maliks of the Court built houses there. Every great King took care during his reign to set up some lasting memorial of his power. So Sultan Sham-su-din Altamsh raised the large pillar in the Mosjid-i-jama at old Dehli, the history of which is well known.*

"In these days, in the year 801 H. (1399 A.D.) Amir Timur, of Khurasan, has marched into India, and by the will of fate has subdued the empire of Hindustan. During his stay of some days in Dehli, he inspected all the monuments of former Kings, and among them these two obelisks, when he declared that in all the countries he had traversed he had never seen any monuments comparable to these."—*Shums-i-Siraj Alif, quoted in Elliot's History of India by Dowson, Vol. III.*

* This is the Kootub Minar.

APPENDIX C.

DEATH OF TOGHLUK SHAH.

In the travels of Ibn Batuta is the following circumstantial narrative, taken from the lips of an eye-witness:—

"There was then at Dehli a saint, Nizam-ud-din Badauni. Muhammad, the Sultan's son, often visited him, to pay him respect in the eyes of his followers and to implore his prayers. The Shaikh was subject to ecstatic fits, in which he lost all control of himself. The Sultan's son directed his servants to let him know when the Shaikh was in one of these fits. When he was seized with a fit the prince was informed, and he went to him. As soon as the Shaikh saw him, he exclaimed, 'We give him the throne.' Afterwards he died while the Sultan was absent, and the Sultan's son, Muhammad, bore his bier upon his shoulder. The father heard of this; he suspected his son and threatened him. Other actions had already aroused suspicions in Toghluk against his son. He was annoyed to see him buy a great number of slaves, and make magnificent presents to secure friends. Now his anger against him increased. The Sultan was informed that the astrologers had predicted that he would never enter again the city of Dehli on returning from his expedition. He replied by threats against them.

"When he came near to his capital, on his return from the expedition, he ordered his son to build for him a Palace, or, as these people call it, a Khusk, near a river, which runs by a place called Afghanpur. Muhammad built it in the course of three days, making it chiefly of wood. It was elevated above the ground and rested on pillars of wood. Muhammad planned it scientifically, and Malik Zada was charged to see the plans carried out. This man was afterwards known by the title of Khowja-i-

Juhan. His real name was Ahmad, son of Ayas. He was then Inspector of buildings, but he afterwards became chief Wazir of Sultan Muhammad. The object which these two persons kept in view in building the Khusk was this,—that it should fall down with a crash when the elephants touched it in a certain part. The Sultan stopped at this building and feasted the people, who afterwards dispersed. His son asked permission to parade the elephants before him fully accoutred. The Sultan consented.

"Shaikh Rukkindin told me that he was then near the Sultan, and that the Sultan's favourite son, Mahmud, was with them. Thereupon Muhammad came and said to the Shaikh, Master, it is now the time for afternoon-prayer, go down and pray. I went down, said the Shaikh, and they brought the elephants up on one side, as the prince and his confidant had arranged. When the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultan and his son Mahmud. I heard the noise, continued the Shaikh, and I returned without having said my prayer. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultan's son, Muhammad, ordered pick-axes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs for them not to hurry, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultan, who had bent over his son to save him from death. Some assert that Toghluk was taken out dead; others, on the contrary, maintain that he was alive, and that an end was made of him. He was carried away at night to the tomb which he had himself built near the city called after him Toghlukabad, and there he was interred.

"It was to the skilful management of the Wazir, Khowja-i-Juhan, in constructing the edifice which fell upon Toghluk, that he owed the position he held with Sultan Muhammad, and the partiality which the latter had for him. No one, whether Wazir or otherwise, enjoyed anything like the consideration in which he was held by the Sultan, and never attained the high position which he possessed near him."—*From Elliot's History of India by Dowson, Vol. III.*

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